

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
Monograph Series
VOL. IV

THE BHALESĪ DIALECT

By
SIDDHESHWAR VARMA



THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL
1 PARK STREET, CALCUTTA 16

1948

Price Rs.4.

491.49

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

MONOGRAPH SERIES

VOL. IV

THE BHĀLESĪ DIALECT

By SIDDHESHWAR VARMA

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL
1 PARK STREET, CALCUTTA 16

1948

1. Linguistics
2. Language & Languages
491.49

~~491~~

K UNIVERSITY LIB.	
Acc No	98359
Date	2..2..73

5602
Shelton

PREFACE

Bhalesī is a dialect spoken in the northern portion of Bhadarwāh, a Himalayan territory situated in Jammu-Kashmir. Bhalesī is a frontier dialect, lying in the immediate vicinity of many Pahārī and Kashmīrī dialects, indicating some parallel dialectical tendencies. Thus the dialect betrays the tendencies to vocalic Umlaut, which is a distinctive feature of the formation of plural (cf. pp. 23-27), a phenomenon somewhat parallel to the Umlaut of vowels so predominant in Kashmīrī.

Owing to its isolated geographical position, Bhalesī is an eminent pattern of dialectical preservations and innovations. Thus its vocabulary has preserved, in a slightly modified form, the Sanskrit word [vanṭah] 'tailless' (cf. p. 57) developed into Bhalesī [bāṭh] 'barren,' while Bhalesī [ʃakkorī] 'a female calf, well-developed' preserves Skr. [śakvarī] 'a cow,' occurring in the Atharvaveda (cf. p. 62).

As regards innovations, a notable feature is the delicate shade of difference between the near and the distant Future, occurring in the northern sub-dialect (cf. p. 4).

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA.

CONTENTS

	<i>Pages</i>
The name 'Bhalesī'	1— 2
Two sub-dialects of Bhalesī	2— 5
The vowel-system	5— 6
Reductions, contractions and elisions	6— 7
The vowels in details	7—12
Nasalization and Denasalization	12—13
Accent	13—14
Consonants : striking features	14
The Consonants in detail	14—20
Word-Building	21—23
Grammar : general features	23
Plural Number	23—27
Cases	27—31
Declension	31—39
Verbs : Conjugation	39—55
Numerals	55—56
Vocabularies	56—63
Bhalesī text { A version of the story : 'North Wind and the Sun' }	63—64

THE BHALESĪ DIALECT

A.	Assamese.
• ashk	Ashkun (dialect of Dardic).
B.	Bengālī.
Bhad.	Bhadarwāhī.
Bhal.	Bhalesī.
D.	Dardic.
eur.	European.
H.	Hindustānī.
K.	Kashmīrī.
Kaf.	Kāfirī.
kal.	Kalāsha (dialect of Dardic).
Ku.	Kumaonī.
Khaś.	Khaśālī.
L.	Lahndā.
N.	Nepālī.
O.	Oṛiyā.
P.	Panjābī.
Pa.	Pāli.
pād.	Pāḍarī.
pañ.	Pañwālī.
pash.	Pashai (dialect of Dardic).
Pk.	Prākṛit.
pog.	Pogulī.
Rom.	Romanī.
S.	Sindhī.
Sgh.	Singhalese.
Sk.	Sanskrit.
Tor.	Torwālī.

The present writer undertook in 1928 a linguistic tour to Bhales, a territory to the north of Bhadarwah. Some rudimentary features of the Bhalesī dialect have been described in the Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX, Part IV, but no systematic investigation of the dialect on the spot had hitherto been made.

The various words for the territory and the dialect of Bhales.

The people of this territory use various words to signify this region and the dialect spoken therein. The word most commonly used to signify this

region outside the territory is *bhøles*, but within the territory, in addition to *bhøles*, the words *bhø'lesα*, *bhølesʃ* and *bhøleif* are also used.

The common feminine adjective formed from the word is *bhø'leifɪ*, and the term for the dialect spoken in Bhales is

bhø'leifɪ 'gallā
bhø'lesɪ 'gallā
or *bhø'lesi 'gallā*

But side by side with this series of words, there is another series in which the word for the territory of Bhales is *bhal*, while the Bhalesī dialect is either called simply *'bhalɪ* or *'bhali 'gallā*. Now the etymology of this word *bhal* is obscure. It may go back to the Skr. word *bhall*—‘good’, but the tendency to use the long vowel *α* by the simplification of a double consonant is far from being general in this dialect. No doubt we have a few instances of this lengthening, as in *'dabɪ* ‘threat’ from *'dabbṇu* ‘to press’; *'machəlɪ* ‘honey-bee’, cf. Skr. *makṣikā*; *'maṇu* ‘frog’, cf. Skr. *maṇḍūka-*, but these few instances may be loan words, for in the overwhelming majority of instances we do not find such long vowels. Another difficulty is the single *l* in the word *bhølesʃ* where we had expected **'bhalleʃ*. The question of its etymology therefore remains for the present unsolved.

Two sub-dialects of Bhalesī.

I noticed in Bhales two sub-dialects, one spoken in the South, the centre of which is the village Kalhotran, the other spoken in the North, the centre of which is the village Jikyās. The following are a few distinctive features of the Northern dialect as contrasted with those of the Southern dialect—:

The vowel system of the Northern dialect indicates a tendency to glides or diphthongal vowels of delicate pronunciation like *i : ɪ*, cf. past participles—:

<i>North.</i>	<i>South.</i>	
<i>bhoĩə</i>	<i>bhoi</i>	(she) ‘became’.
<i>khaĩə</i>	<i>khaɪ</i>	‘was eaten’.
<i>zɔ̣'ĩə</i>	<i>zɔ'ɪ</i>	‘was said’.
<i>zɔ'ĩə</i>	<i>zɔ'phi</i>	‘were said’.
<i>ɑĩə</i>	<i>ɑɪ</i>	(she) ‘came’.
<i>ɑĩə</i>	<i>ɛi</i> or <i>ɹi</i>	(those women) ‘came’.
<i>ge'ĩə</i>	<i>gei</i>	(she) ‘went’.
<i>geĩə</i>	<i>gei</i>	(those women) ‘went’.
<i>pe'ĩə</i>	<i>pei</i>	(she) ‘lay’.
<i>peĩə</i>	<i>pei</i>	(those women) ‘lay’.
<i>ne'ĩə</i>	<i>nei</i>	‘was led’.
<i>neĩə</i>	<i>nei</i>	‘were led’.
<i>pi : ɪ</i>	<i>pi</i>	‘was or were drunk’.
<i>zi : ɪ</i>	<i>zi</i>	(she or they) ‘lived’.

(2) Again, the Northern dialect has, in some instances, a nasal vowel, where the South has non-nasal. Thus the neuter gender of the genitive singular has eū in the North, but eu in the South. Cf.— :

<i>North.</i>	<i>South.</i>	
'ghoreū ʈir	'ghoreu ʈir	‘ the eye of the horse ’.

Again, cf. N. toū ‘ thou ’ but S. tu.

But in some respects the Northern dialect shows less tendency to nasalization than the Southern dialect, as will be shown below.

(3) The South gives a distinctive gender form to neuter adjectives, as 'mi 'rullu 'maṭṭhe i'nam paū ‘ this good boy got a prize ’. Here the adjective 'rullu ‘ good ’ maintains the neuter ending u in the oblique case. In the North this neuter ending u is optional, the other optional ending being e. Thus the same sentence in the North is 'tmi 'rulle 'maṭṭhe i'nam paū or 'tmi 'rullu 'maṭṭhe i'nam paū. The same distinction is maintained in the declension of plural adjectives : the South has 'rullu 'maṭṭhe i'nam paū ‘ the good boys got prize ’, the North has 'rulle 'maṭṭhe or 'rullu 'maṭṭhe.

(4) The North uses a postposition -ḍhḷakh in the sense of ‘ towards ’ : the South has -lakh instead, cf. N. 'ghore-ḍhḷakh ‘ towards the horse ’, S. 'ghore-lakh.

(5) In the Conjugation of the present tense of verbs ending in vowels, the Southern dialect has a tendency to nasalize those vowels, but not so much the Northern. Thus the South has 'zūtu ‘ I speak ’, 'dhūtu ‘ I sweep ’, while the North has 'zutu, 'dhutu. In the Northern dialect, in the care of 'zitu ‘ I live ’, I noted the pronunciation of a father and his son. The father said 'zītu, the son said 'zitu. The tendency to this form of nasalization seems to be waning in the Northern dialect. But in 'gāhātu ‘ I go ’, even the Northern dialect has the nasality.

(6) In the Conjugation of the feminine first and second person plural present tense of the Verb Substantive, the Northern dialect has a very delicate i as final, but the Southern dialect has no such vowel ending. Cf.

<i>N.</i>	ahəm ⁱ	‘ we are ’.	ahəth ⁱ	‘ you are ’.
<i>S.</i>	ahəm		ahəth	

Generally speaking, the Conjugation of the feminine present tense is slightly different in the North from that in the South. Cf.— :

Present Tense feminine of 'khaṇu ‘ to eat ’.

		<i>sg.</i>	<i>pl.</i>
<i>North</i>	1.	'khātiā	'khātiəm
	2.	'khātisi	'khāti
	3.	'khāti	'khāti
<i>South</i>	1.	'khāti	'khātīm
	2.	'khātis	'khāti
	3.	'khāti	'khāti

Present Tense feminine of 'kuṭnu ' to beat '.

	<i>sg.</i>	<i>pl.</i>
<i>North</i>	1. 'kuṭtiā	'kuṭtīmī
	2. 'kuṭtīsī	'kuṭti
	3. 'kuṭtī	'kuṭti
<i>South</i>	1. 'kuṭtī	'kuṭtīm
	2. 'kuṭtīs	'kuṭti
	3. 'kuṭtī	'kuṭti

Thus, as in *ahəm*¹ above, the North seems to have preserved the traces of feminine endings which the South seems to have lost.

On the other hand, in the present tense feminine plural of 'eṇu ' to come ', the North not only shows no nasality, but shows *i* instead of *ε*.

	<i>pl.</i>
<i>North</i>	1. 'itīm ' we women come '.
	2. 'iti
	3. 'iti
<i>South</i>	1. 'ē·tīm
	2. 'ēti
	3. 'ēti

But in the first person future of 'eṇu, the North preserves its tendency to diphthongs. Cf.— :

<i>North</i>	εijəṇ ^u (m. sg.)	' I shall come '.
	εijəṇ ⁱ (f. sg.)	' I (woman) shall come '.
<i>South</i>	eṇ ^u (m. sg.)	' I shall come '.
	eṇ ⁱ (f. sg.)	' I (woman) shall come '.

(7) In the Northern dialect there is a peculiar distinction between two kinds of future, viz. the future of distant place and the future of near place. This twofold future division is observed only in the third person plural of verbs ending in vowels. Thus the future tense third person plural of 'bhoṇu ' to be ' in the Southern dialect is *bhon* only. But in the Northern dialect there are two forms: (1) *bhon* and (2) *bhol*. If any event has to occur in a distant place, *bhon* is used : if it is to occur in the place where the speaker is speaking, *bhol* is used, cf. 'təṇā tɛṛi 'rəṭṭi khən ' they will take their meal there ', but 'təṇā ɛṛi 'rəṭṭi khəl ' they will take their meal here '. Here *khən* is used when the reference is to a distant place, *khəl* is used when the reference is to a near place.

(8) Conjunctive participle in the North is formed in some instances by the addition of *α*, in others by keeping the root intact. In the South it is a regular ending. Cf.— :

<i>North</i>	<i>South</i>
bhui or 'bhuija	'bhuita ' having become '.
'kheiija	'kheita ' having eaten '.
pi	'pita ' having drunk '.

<i>North</i>	<i>South</i>	
'zɸija	'zɸita	'having spoken'.
'dhyija	'dhuita	'having swept'.
zi	'zita	'having lived'.
'lɛri	'lɛrita	'having fought'.
gɛih	'gɛhita	'having gone'.
'pɛija	'pɛita	'having laid'.
dɛi	'dɛita	'having given'.
'kɛri	'kɛrita	'having done'.
'bɪssi	'bɪssita	'having sat'.
nɛi	'nɛita	'having led'.

The Northern dialect, therefore, in some instances, as in the feminine endings and the glide sounds, seems to preserve an older stage of the language, while in some instances, as in the case of the conjunctive participle, it seems to have eliminated the older *t* and progressed further than the Southern dialect.

We shall now describe the characteristic features of the Bhalesi dialect as a whole.

The vowel system.

A peculiar feature of the Bhalesi vowel system is the indication of the plural number by closer vowels. Thus the plural of 'ghoɾi 'mare' is 'ghoɾi. The *i* in the singular here is not only short, but very lax, sounding almost exactly like the final of the English word 'baby'. This is a unique feature of the Bhalesi dialect, and its origin is very obscure. Similar distinction is noticed when *i* and *ɪ* occur in diphthongs. Cf.—:

<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
gɛɪ	'she went'.	gei	'they went' (fem.).
khaɪ	'was eaten' (fem.).	khêi	'were eaten' (fem.).
ɑɪ	'(she) came'.	ɛi or ɪi	'they came' (fem.).
gho'rɛɪ zâŋg	'the leg of the horse'.	gho'rei zâŋg	'the legs of the horse'.

Similarly cf. the nominative 'ghoɾi 'mare' but 'ghoɾi-sɛi 'with the mare', where we have the closer vowel *i*.

We have a similar Ablaut *u* : *u* ; in singular or nominative *u*, plural or oblique *u*. Cf.—:

'juɽɪ 'shoe', plural 'juɽɪ, oblique 'juɽɪe-sɛi 'with a shoe'.

The vowel system also indicates signs of crumbling, possibly an older stage of the language. Very delicate vowels are often heard in words wherein Bhad. has either regular full vowels, or does not show any vowels, cf. the future tense of 'piɲu 'to drink' in Bhal. and in Bhad.—:

	<i>Bhal.</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>
m. sg.	1. pi:°n ^u	'pilo
	2. pi:°l ^u	'pilo
	3. pi:°l ^u	'pilo

	<i>Bhal.</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>
m. pl.	1. 'pimɛl	'pime
	2. pi:°l	'pile
	3. pi:°n	'pile
f. sg.	1. pi:°n'	'pile
	2. piɛlɪ	'pili
	3. piɛlɪ	'pili
f. pl.	1. 'pimɪl	'pime
	2. piɛlɪ	'pili or piɛli
	3. piɛlɪ	'pili or piɛli

The vowel system, as indicated by the perfect participle, is, on the one hand, in many forms, full of glides and diphthongs—again indicating a possibly older stage of the language, while on the other hand is in several forms characterized by striking elisions. Thus we have

<i>Bhal.</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>	<i>Khaś.</i>
'kɬuɔu	'khorɔ	khujɾa 'have or had been eaten'.
ki'oɔu	ki'oro	giura 'have or had been done'.
ɬu'wɔu	'ɸro	'ura 'have or had come'.
ni'ɔu	ni'oro	niujɾa 'have or had been carried'.

We have here in Bhal. diphthongs and glides, while in Bhad. and Khaś. we have simplified vowels. On the other hand, when we compare

<i>Bhal.</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>	<i>Khaś.</i>
khɬu'wo	'khore	khujɾe 'they have or had been eaten',
ki'o	ki'ore	giure 'they have or had been done',
ɬu'wo	'ɸre	'ure 'they have or had come',
ni'o	ni'ore	niure 'they have or had been carried',

we find in Bhal. a case of the elision both of r and e as indicated by Bhad. and Khaś. forms, substituted by the lengthening of the preceding vowel, as marked by accent.

Reductions, contractions and elisions.

On the whole, Bhalēśī shows a greater tendency to striking reductions, contractions and elisions of vowels than the preservation of diphthongs and glides. Cf.—:

ei is reduced to ɬ in zɬɪ'tɬɪnɪ 'wife of the husband's elder brother', the masculine form being zɛi'tɬ.

ɸ is reduced to u in 'ɛudde 'fourteen', Khaś. 'ɛɸda or 'ɛɔda, H. caudā.

Diphthongs, arising from the loss of sounds, are a particular feature of Bhalēśī, as they have many varied forms, and give enormous variations and shades of meaning. Cf.—:

'ɬtɬɬɬɬ (m.) 8th, f. 'ɬtɬtɬtɬ, H. ātɬhwā, ātɬhwī. Particularly compare

ɛsei 'ghore 'our horses'.

ɛsei 'gharū 'our houses'.

əsei 'ghoɾɪ	'our mare'.
əsei 'ghoɾi	'our mares'.
əseu ghɘɾ	'our house'.
əseu 'ghoɾo	'our horse'.

Note here the delicate forms and the varied shades of meanings of the diphthongs ei, ei, ɛɪ, eu, ɛu.

Cf. Bhal. 'b̄ɾɑũ '12th', N. b̄ɑɾũ, G. b̄ɑɾmũ.

The reduced o corresponds to ɔo of P. in Bhal. 'sokɪ 'co-wife', P.L. sɔokəɳ, ɔogrī səkəɳ. It also corresponds to au in 'loɾɪ 'a stick made of fresh branches of a tree', N. lauri, O. laũɾi.

The au or ɔo is reduced to ϕ in—

ɛ ϕ bbi '24', H. caubis, N. caubis, K. cōwuh. ɛ ϕ ith 'the day succeeding the day after tomorrow', P. cɔoth 'fourth day'.

ɛ ϕ r 'four', Pk. cɑũro, kal. cɑu, Tor. cɑu.

Contractions due to partial elisions of sounds are noticed in nasalized vowels like m̄ɤʃ 'man', cur. m̄ɑɳʃ, Tor. m̄ɑš, N. m̄ɑnis.

cɔɔḍ 'the Goddess Cāmuḍā'.

Similarly note the elision w in lo 'fox', H. lowā 'fox'.

A few instances are also available, in which the long a is found in words after the simplification of consonant-groups. Cf.—:

'khilo 'a small pole fixed into the ground', H. kīlā, P. 'killa.

'machəɾɪ 'honey-bee', 'maɳu 'frog', 'dɑbɪ 'threat'. But as already indicated above, these may be loan-words, for the tendency is far from being general.

Striking examples for elisions may be noticed in the past participle. Cf.—:

bho, past participle of 'bhoɳu 'to become', but Bhad. bhuo; ɑ, m. pl. past participle 'they came', Bhad. ɑe. khɑ, m. pl. past participle of 'khaɳu 'to eat', Bhad. khɑe.

The diphthong iu, reduced to i, may be noticed in bīzhɳu 'to wake up', N. biũjhaɳu, Sk. vibudhyate.

The elision of u may possibly be noticed in 'baɳu 'to sow', N. ubāunu, H. ubānā; meɳʃ 'husband', Skr. manuṣya. Elision of ʊ may be seen in—

bēi '22', L. bavi, G.M. bāvīs, N. bāis.

Elision of h with a trace of the high-falling tone may be noticed in lō 'iron', Bhad. lahũ, H.P.L. lohā.

Elision of s may be seen in b̄ɑo, f. b̄ɑɪ 'stale', N. b̄ɑsi, H. b̄ɑsī, A. b̄ɑhi.

The vowels in detail: ɔ.

ɔ is a very back vowel, and sometimes it becomes difficult to decide whether it should be transcribed as ɔ or ɑ, e.g. 'maṭṭhu 'boy' may be transcribed as 'maṭṭhu, because the actual sound heard is as back as the ɔ of 'ghaɾo 'pot'. ɔ in general corresponds to Skr. a in words like baɳ 'forest', sarg 'sky', 'bharnu 'to fill'. Unaccented ɔ in ə'dhaɳəs

'deformed' has perhaps a negative sense, lit. 'not made'. In ə'ghori 'a very dirty person' it may have an intensive sense.

a

a, longer than ʌ, corresponds to Skr. ā, as in ghas 'grass', dan 'dowry', dāt 'bullock', dlati 'sickle'. a itself, as shown above, has come to mean 'they came', Bhad. ae. The occurrence of a in dlahən 'eclipse', Skr. grahaṇa-, remains unexplained.

ɪ

ɪ, at the end of words, as already indicated above, is a very open sound, and resembles the final vowel of the English word 'baby'. It is often used as the singular feminine ending, as in 'ghori 'mare'. It corresponds to Skr. i in words like biʃ 'sit', zi'bhət 'talkative', 'tittir 'partridge'.

It corresponds to Skr. ɾ in ɪh 'bear', miɾ 'wild goat', ʃiɾ 'horn'. It often optionally stands side by side with ɛ in the dialect, cf. miɾʃ or meɾʃ 'husband', 'khiɾgro or 'kheɾgro 'crooked'. A very minute variety of ɪ is heard at the end of certain grammatical forms, as in feminine future tense, cf. bholɪ ' (we women) shall be ', piɛɪ ' we women shall drink '.

i

i, a close and long sound, corresponds to Skr. ī as in 'nilo 'blue', 'piɾnu 'to squeeze', zi 'live', bi 'seed'. The occurrence of this sound in the dialect, except when it is used as a feminine plural ending, as in 'ghori 'mares' and in oblique cases, as in 'ghori-sei 'with a mare', is rare. It is often the result of lengthening after elision of some sound. Cf.—:

bi 'also', Skr. api, bi 'twenty', 'disol 'midday-meal', Skr. divasa-, hi 'yesterday', ki 'they were done', sir 'sinew', 'khilo 'a pole fixed into the ground', P. 'killa.

ɛ

ɛ sounds like ɛ in the English word 'bed'. It is the most prevalent of Bhalesī vowels, often taking the place of nearly all other simple vowels.

ɛ corresponds to Skr. a in ke'nja 'the (virgin) bride just about to be married', 'zeɾɾi 'locks of hair', Skr. jatā, deɪ 'a lump of clay', N. dallo, Skr. dala- 'a piece', 'zeɾmmu 'name of a large tree with black fruit like berries', Skr. jambu-, 'bheɾti 'name of a dance accompanied with religious songs or epic recitation', Skr. bhakti-, meɾʃ 'husband', Skr. manuṣya-, beɪ 'flute', Skr. vaṁśa-.

It sometimes corresponds to Skr. ā as in 'beɾtri 'thirty-two', 'beɾmmo 'the reverse side of a shirt, razor', etc., Skr. vāma-.

It sometimes corresponds to Skr. i as in 'bheɾchut 'beggar', Skr. bhikṣu-, 'cheɾki 'a sneeze', Skr. lex. chikkā, N. chik.

ɛ corresponds to Skr. ɾ in 'meɾti 'clay'.

It often corresponds to Δ of other dialects, as in 'leḍḍu 'a ball of flour and water', H.P. laḍḍū 'a ball of sweets', 'keṭṭhi 'catechu', P. Ḍogrī 'kaṭṭhi, 'ghęggo 'hoarse', L. 'ghagga, gęū 'wheat', N. Bhad. 'gahū.

ę is often noticed in Denominatives, in which a succeeding i seems to have played some part. Cf. keṣri'oṇu 'to be ill' from 'kaṣri 'ill', gheṭhi'oṇu 'to be habituated' from ghaṭh 'habit', leṃmi'oṇu 'to be tall' from 'lammo 'tall', beṛi'oṇu 'to be great' from 'baṛo 'great', eḡri'oṇu 'to surpass' from 'agre 'further'.

ę is also the modification of Δ in the formation of the passive past participle, as 'meru heṣ'sjoū 'I laughed involuntarily' from 'hasnu 'to laugh', keṛ'joū 'was done involuntarily' from 'karṇu 'to do'.

ę is the reduced unaccented form from e in ḍleḅbu'ṇi 'wife of husband's younger brother', being the feminine of ḍlebu.

ę seems to be a modification of Skr. a by progressive assimilation in 'njenno 'without food, with empty stomach' from Skr. nir-anna-.

ę corresponds to e of other dialects, when reduced before a double consonant, as in ękk 'one', corresponding to N.B.H.M. ek.

In Bhalesi pronunciation ę is often optionally used side by side with i, cf. 'neḍḍu or 'niḍḍu 'to weed out a field', meṇṣ or miṇṣ 'husband', 'kheṅgro or 'khiṅgro 'crooked', zeṛhũ or zihũ 'whichever way'.

ę corresponds to i of other dialects in kęm 'name of a fruit', P. kimb.

e

e sounds like French é in mélodie. Except in certain interjections as be 'O man' (addressed by women to men), dhe 'O girl', and in certain grammatical endings as in 'ghore 'horses', 'pite 'they drink', this sound rarely occurs in Bhalesi words.

In the bases of words it is very rare indeed.

e corresponds to Skr. i in kaneṭh 'youngest', Skr. kaniṣṭha-.

e is sometimes, though rarely, pronounced side by side with ę as in 'ketṭhi or keṭṭhi 'catechu', P. Ḍogrī 'kaṭṭhi.

e corresponds to P. ia in 'leri 'a cow which gives milk', P. li'ari. It is sometimes, though rarely, pronounced side by side with i, as in ſillo or ſillo 'loose'.

ε

ε is a more open and a longer sound than ę and sounds like è in French père. It is a very common sound in Bhalesi, and corresponds to Skr. e as in cheṭḷi 'field', zeṭh 'the month of Jeth'. It sometimes corresponds to Skr. ā or a before a double consonant, as in 'zheṛo 'cloudy weather', G. jhāṭko 'blast', going back to jhaṭṭa-.

ε often corresponds to e of other dialects, as in 'ghe'ro 'circular movement', N. ghero, O.H.P. gheru, dher 'heap', M.N.H. dher, 'ḍero 'lodging', N. ḍerā 'booth', M.P. ḍerā, 'deṇu 'to give', H. denā.

ε sometimes optionally occurs side by side with α as in 'bεṇu or 'baṇu 'to sow'. It corresponds to P. ā in 'ēhṃṛī 'hail', P. āhiṇ, L. êṛ.

ϕ

ϕ is a close back vowel, sounding like the final vowel of the French word 'monsieur', but it is not so close, and it has a very minute u-like sound at the end, so that in very narrow transcription it may be transcribed as ϕ^u. It rarely occurs as a regular sound in the dialect, except in certain grammatical forms to indicate feminine plural. I have noticed it in the following words—:

ʃϕc	'name of a very common grass, the top of which looks like ear of corn'.
'mϕthu	'churning-stick'.
mϕsəṇ	'reddish clay'.
εϕr	'four'.
εϕbbi	'24'.
εϕttri	'34'.
'ʃϕre	'16'.
'lϕri	'ought to'. It is used impersonally, as in Δũ laṛk bhəu 'lϕri 'I ought to be capable'.

The origin of ϕ in the first three of the above words is obscure. As occurring in the numerals above, it goes back to au.

o, o', o:

o is a close back vowel, like the vowel in the first syllable of the German pronunciation of 'London', or the vowel in the French word 'bonne'. It often occurs either before consonant-groups or double consonants, corresponding to u, o, or ʌ of other dialects, cf. 'bəḍḍhṛī 'old woman', 'rəṭṭṛī 'bread', 'zəṭṭa 'hair', 'ʌṅgəḷṛī 'finger', 'bəgco 'bundle', L. bucka.

o' is a longer sound, and is pronounced like the vowel in the English word 'all'. It sometimes corresponds to ʌ of other dialects, as in 'ghə'ggo 'hoarse', L. 'ghʌgga. We have this sound in gə'th 'a resting place for animals', Skr. goṭha-, 'dhə'ṇu 'to wash'.

o

o is a back vowel, pronounced like o in H. ghorā, Bhal. 'ghoro, and corresponds to Skr. o as in 'akhoṛ 'walnut', Skr. akṣoṭa-. It is often a simplification of the middle Indian au as in əsoj 'the month of September-October', H.N. asauj, asoj, Skr. aśvayuja-, 'loṛī 'a stick made of the fresh branch of a tree', N. lauri 'strick', O. laūri. It sometimes corresponds to Skr. u, as in 'bobəṛī 'bubble', Skr. budbuda-, ʌṅ'goṭṭhṛī 'finger-ring'. Sometimes it corresponds to Skr. a as in 'bohəṛī 'daughter-in-law', Skr. vadhūṭī, cf. D. gār. bōī, Tor. bōe, pal. bhōī, O. bohu.

It sometimes corresponds to u of other dialects as in koi 'girl', P. 'kuṛi, 'kōṃ 'key', H. kūji.

u

u is a short, lax back vowel and is pronounced like the vowel in the English word 'bull', though it is a closer sound. It corresponds to Skr. u as in *cuṅṅ* 'the bill of a bird', Skr. *cuñcu-*, *būznu* 'to understand'. It sometimes corresponds to Skr. ṛ as in 'buklu 'kidney', Skr. *vṛkka-*. It sometimes corresponds to Skr. long ū as in *bhuzṣ* 'the birch-tree, Skr. *bhūrja-*. It sometimes corresponds to H. au, as in 'ḷudde 'fourteen', H. *caudā*. Occurring in the final syllable, or being the penultimate vowel of a word, it indicates the effect of a final u, as in 'baḷhuṛ 'male calf', 'ḷpṇu 'one's own'. It is sometimes a reduction of o, as in *gu'hal* 'stall for cows', Skr. *gośālā*, 'curṛo 'base, mean' from *cor* 'thief'.

A very minute variety of u is heard at the end of certain words as in *maṭṭh^u* 'boy' or at the end of certain grammatical forms, as the future tense, cf. *bhon^u* 'I shall be', *bhol^u* 'thou shalt be'.

u

u is a tense and long back vowel and is pronounced like the vowel in the English word 'moon', though it is a closer sound. It corresponds to Skr. ū in *juṭh* 'crowd', Skr. *yūtha-*, *bhūt* 'evil spirit', Skr. *bhūta-*. It often occurs in plural formations as in 'buddhi 'old women', plural of 'baddhi 'old woman', 'juṭṭi 'shoes', plural of 'juṭṭi 'shoe'. It corresponds to L. u or o in *bukhər* 'broom', L. *bu'hara* or *bəhara*. The occurrence of u in *bhuch* 'habitually hungry', i.e. a person who is always begging, perhaps corresponds to Skr. u in *bubhukṣu-*.

y

The mixed vowel y is pronounced like the vowel in the French word 'une', though it is a shorter sound. It rarely occurs as a regular sound in the dialect, except in a few plural formations. I have noticed the sound in the following words—:

- 'syni 'white ants', plural of 'sunī 'white ant'.
 'dhyija 'having swept' from 'dhuṇu 'to sweep' (North), South 'dhuita.
 'chyrī the girl who fails to escape the spittle in a game called 'the spitting game' ('thukōli), Bhād. 'ḷhyōri.
 'osyi gēi 'miscarried' (said of a cow).

The diphthongs.

It has been already pointed out above that diphthongs, with varied shades of meaning, are a particular feature of Bhālesī. That the diphthongs *eu*, *eu*, *ei*, *ei*, *ei*, with delicate differences in form, have different shades of meaning, will be further indicated by the following examples—:

'ghoṛeu khur (m.)	'the horse's hoof'.
'ghoṛeu ṭir (n.)	'the horse's eye'.
'ghoṛei zâṅg (f. sg.)	'the horse's leg'.
'ghoṛei zèṅg (f. pl.)	'the horse's legs'.
'ghoṛei 'ṭirã (n. pl.)	'the horse's eyes'.

The diphthong Δi sometimes corresponds to Δ of other dialects as in $h\Delta i\tilde{d}\tilde{l}$ 'turmeric', $h\Delta i\tilde{d}\tilde{l}o$ 'yellow', N. $h\Delta edo$ 'turmeric', P.H. $hald\tilde{i}$, but S. $haidra$, Kaf. $ashk. aid\tilde{a}r\tilde{a}$. $\Delta\tilde{o}$ goes back to Skr. $\tilde{a}ma-$ in $d\tilde{a}o$ 'rope', N. $d\tilde{a}\tilde{i}$, Skr. $d\tilde{a}ma$.

ei corresponds to $\tilde{a}i$ of other dialects in $bh\tilde{e}i$ 'brother', H. $bh\tilde{a}\tilde{i}$, $b\tilde{e}i$ '22', H. $b\tilde{a}\tilde{i}s$.

ei corresponds to Skr. e in $'b\tilde{e}id\tilde{i}$ 'the altar, being the Vedi in the marriage ceremony', $z\tilde{e}i\tilde{t}h$ 'husband's elder brother', Skr. $jy\tilde{e}\tilde{s}t\tilde{h}a-$. It corresponds to Skr. ai in $\tilde{e}i\tilde{t}\tilde{l}$ 'the month of Chet', Skr. $caitra-$. It corresponds to H. $\tilde{a}i$ in $\tilde{e}i\tilde{t}b\tilde{a}r$ 'Sunday'.

The diphthong ei seems to be a preservation of a middle Indian diphthong in numerals like Bhal. $'p\tilde{a}n\tilde{e}i$ '25', while in the other Indo-Aryan dialects either the first element of the diphthong is elided or v of Skr. $p\tilde{a}ñca-vim\tilde{s}ati$ is preserved, cf. Bhal. $'p\tilde{a}n\tilde{e}i$ '25', Skr. $p\tilde{a}ñcavi\tilde{m}\tilde{s}ati$, G.H. $pac\tilde{i}s$, B. $p\tilde{a}c\tilde{i}s$, S. $p\tilde{a}ñjviha$.

ei corresponds to $\tilde{a}i$ of other dialects in $'s\tilde{a}t\tilde{e}i$ '27', B. $s\tilde{a}t\tilde{a}\tilde{i}s$, N. $s\tilde{a}t\tilde{a}\tilde{i}s$, $r'\tilde{k}ei$ '21', N. $ekk\tilde{a}\tilde{i}s$.

The nasalized $\tilde{e}i$ is a regular termination of the feminine ordinal number, as in $du'\tilde{e}i$ 'second', from du 'two'. $\tilde{e}\phi'r\tilde{e}i$ 'fourth' from $\tilde{e}\phi r$ 'four'.

eu corresponds to Skr. $-eva-$ in $d\tilde{e}u$, 'rain', Skr. $deva-$. It corresponds to a stage $*iu$ in $h\tilde{e}u$ 'snow', Ku. $hy\tilde{u}$, P. $hu\tilde{i}$, M. $h\tilde{i}v$, Skr. $hima-$.

ϕi is found in certain grammatical forms, as fem. perf. participle plural, e.g. in $b\tilde{i}\tilde{s}'\tilde{s}\phi i$ 'have or had sat', plural of $b\tilde{i}\tilde{s}'\tilde{s}\phi r$, $\Delta u'w\phi i$ 'have or had arrived, plural of $\Delta u'w\phi r$. Cf. also—:

$bh\phi i'j\phi nu$, v. inf. passive of $bho\phi nu$ 'to be'.

$\tilde{e}\phi i\tilde{t}h$, adv. 'the day succeeding the day after tomorrow'.

$'z\phi ija$, future imperative sg. of $'zo\phi nu$ 'to say'—'say in future'.

$'z\phi ita$ 'having said'.

The diphthong ϕu occurs in $m\phi us$ 'husband of mother's sister', $'m\phi usi$, 'mother's sister'.

ou corresponds to Skr. diphthong au in $p\tilde{o}u$ 'the month of Poh', Skr. $pau\tilde{s}a-$, N. $pu\tilde{s}$, M. $p\tilde{u}s$, K. $p\tilde{o}h$. It corresponds to Skr. a in $h\tilde{o}u\tilde{s}$ 'the swan', N.B.H. $h\tilde{a}s$, K. $\tilde{u}nz\tilde{u}$.

Nasalization and Denasalization.

There are slight traces of nasalization in final vowels of words such as $g\tilde{a}\tilde{u}$ 'cow', $ni\tilde{u}$ 'foundation', $l\tilde{o}$ 'iron'. The vowel of the root $ga-$ 'to go' is nasalized in $g\tilde{a}h\tilde{e}nu$ 'to go', $g\tilde{a}h\tilde{e}to$ 'going', Bhal. $g\tilde{a}\tilde{nu}$.

Nasalization is also noticed in *ghēmriòṇu* 'to be distraught', possibly through **ghēmbri'oṇu*, H. *ghabrāna*.

On the other hand, we have non-nasal sound in *'ghiccōṛi* 'name of a game', the corresponding word in Bhad. is *'ghiñcōṛi*, with a nasal sound. We have partial denasalization or transferred nasalization in *'baōḥo* 'pincers', H. *mocnā*.

Accent.

In the case of a few words of two syllables, the comparative shortening of the second syllable indicates that in some period there was a strong tendency to accent the first syllable of words, as in *'Aṭṭhei* '28', H. *aṭhāis*, *'Aḡṭhi* 'hearth', H. *aṃgīṭhī*, *'brēsth-bar* 'Thursday', *'Aḡṇo* 'innumerable', through *'AḡAṇo*.

But the accent of many words, especially of compound words, indicates that the present predominant tendency is to accent a syllable other than the first syllable. Cf.—:

<i>bhəṇəz</i>	'sister's son', Pk. <i>bhāiṇejja-</i> , Ku. <i>bhāṇij</i> , H. <i>bhājā</i> .
<i>əʃoʃ</i>	'the month of September-October'.
<i>Aṇ'ʃAḍdo</i>	'uninvited'.
<i>baṇ-'kākṛi</i>	'name of a wild plant'.
<i>bhər-'nalo</i>	'the channel through which water passes to a flour-mill'.
<i>bhər 'nohəl</i>	'a kind of jessamine'.
<i>zhaṛ 'kaṭṭo</i>	'an ox with a broken tail'.
<i>zhaṭ're'hil</i>	'name of a thorny bush'.
<i>ḍher-'ʃiṅgo</i>	'a bullock with one horn erect and the other hanging down'.
<i>ḍhḷak-'naṛu</i>	'throat', Bhad. <i>'ḍhḷakṛo</i> 'throat'.
<i>ək'puru</i>	'a house of one storey'.
<i>gaḍ-'kakulī</i>	'a kind of sparrow. It frequents river-banks'. <i>gaḍḍ</i> means 'a rivulet'.
<i>gal'ghuṭṭu</i>	'tonsilitis'.
<i>gaṇ ṭliù</i>	'an animal looking like sheep. It has large horns and a reddish colour'.
<i>gərib-'gunno</i>	lit. 'poor-rascal', i.e. a man with a very meek appearance but knavish within.
<i>haṛ-'dhu</i>	'a heavy shower of rain'.
<i>hath-pə'lasī</i>	'hand-to-hand fight'.
<i>ik-'ʃiṅgo</i>	'a bullock with a single horn'.
<i>kəṭh'loṭṭu</i>	'a wooden trough to store clay', etc.
<i>kəṭh-'kaṛo</i>	'a wooden bar of lattice-work in the external sitting room of a house'.
<i>maṇ-'kuṇḷi</i>	'name of an insect which is injurious to the crops'.
<i>naḷ-'dhar</i>	'nose-bleeding'.
<i>nil-'goddər</i>	'a bird resembling the parrot'.

An interesting variation of meaning is indicated by the difference of accent in the past participle and the perfect participle. The words have the same form, but the meaning differs with the accent. Cf.—:

'biffo 'sat' (sg.), but bif'fo 'have or had sat' (plural), e.g. nai'biffo 'the barber sat', but nai bif'fo ahən 'the barbers have taken their seats'.

'bhūo 'was' (sg.), but bhū'o 'have become', e.g. tɛ 'bhūo 'he was', but ʌs bhū'o həm 'we have become'.

'dīto 'given', but dī'to 'have or had been given'. zīo 'lived', but zī'o 'have or had lived'. 'zəuo 'they said', but zəu'o 'they have or had said'. 'karo (North) 'did', but ka'ro 'have or had done', 'kio (South) 'did', but ki'o (South) 'have or had done'. 'laro 'fought', but la'ro 'have or had fought'. 'maro 'died', but ma'ro 'have or had died'. 'nio 'carried away or brought', but ni'o 'have or had carried away or brought'. 'pio 'drank', but pi'o 'have or had drunk'.

Of the above pairs of words, those having an accent on the second syllable are all plural, being perfect participles. The corresponding Bhad. forms, such as 'biffore, bhū'ore, maintain -re, which is lost in Bhal., indicating that the accent was strong enough to eliminate -re. Even here the second, and not the first, syllable shows the comparative intensity of accent.

Consonants : striking features.

Of consonants (1) the most striking feature is indicated by the treatment of OIA l, which is often dropped in the intervocalic position, and the details of which will be shown presently, e.g. kao 'black', all other Indo-Aryan dialects show l in the corresponding word for 'black'.

(2) The occurrence of ṭḷ, ḍḷ and ḍhḷ is already well known.

(3) Again, there are traces of a tendency to aspiration of an initial consonant as indicated by the following words—:

'khirkṇu 'to fall', L. 'kirṇaṇa 'to fall' (to be defeated in a game). 'khilo 'a small pole or peg fixed into the ground', H. kilā, P. 'killa. 'khunṇi 'elbow', N. kuhunu, H. kohnī, P. kūhṇī, K. kuhaṇo.

'khunṇi 'a bar of iron curved at one end, held by a sooth-sayer priest', N. kundā 'butt of a gun', H. kundā.

—ḍhḷakh postposition, meaning 'towards', 'to the side of', but the word for 'side' is 'ḍlakhi from Skr. *vakṣas-*.

phāṅg 'wing of a bird' from Skr. *pañkha-*.

(4) There are also traces of the change of dental into retroflex consonants as indicated by ṭhark 'trembling of hands and feet', N. tharko 'tremor', ṭheie 'in place of' from Skr. *sthā-*.

The consonants in detail : the plosives.

Of the plosives, b corresponds to Skr. b in bi 'seed', to Skr. v in bif 'sit', Skr. (*upa*)-*viśati*, bī '20'. It also goes back to a prothetic v in

'bullu 'owl', through *vullu, Skr. *ulūka-*. It corresponds to Skr. *du* in *br'unza* '52', Skr. *dvipañcāśat*.

The plosive *c*, which is not an affricate in this dialect, is a rare sound in Bhalēśī, corresponding to Skr. *c* in 'canni 'moon', N. *cādni*, cor 'thief'. But *c* occurring in words of Sanskrit origin seems to be the effect of Dogri pronunciation, for side by side with cor, 'cornu 'to steal' occurs. But many words with initial *c* seem to be of MI, Pk. or modern origin, as *cāp* 'that part of the gun which contains the trigger', N. *cāp* 'lock of a gun'. Turner connects it with Pk. *campai* 'presses'. *ci'rhellu* 'a peevish person', N. *ciṛnu*. Turner connects it with MI **ciḍa-*. 'cukli 'complaint', cf. H. *cugli*.

c corresponds to Skr. *śc* in 'biccu 'scorpion', Deśi *viñcu*, M. *vīcū*.

The aspirated plosive *ch* also occurs rarely, and corresponds to Skr. *kṣ*, as in 'mācholi 'honey-bee', Skr. *makṣikā*, 'chaho 'ruin', Skr. *kṣaya-*, though the occurrence of long *a* and intervocalic *h* here is difficult to explain. *bhuch* 'habitually hungry', i.e. a person who is always begging: Sk. *bubhukṣu-*, *licch* 'louse', *lic'hjoṇu* 'to be full of lice', Skr. *likṣā*, L.P. *likh*.

Initial *kh* in most of the words in Bhalēśī corresponds to Skr. *kh*, as in *khāll* 'thrashing-floor', 'khaṇu 'to eat', *khəṇajṇu* 'to prepare the partition of hair' from Skr. *khaṇḍa-*.

Only in a few words, like the following, *kh* corresponds to *kṣ*: 'khuro 'razor', *pakh* 'wing of a bird', 'pakhor 'arm', 'pakhu 'a fan which works inside the water in a flour-mill', 'pəkkhru 'bird', *baḅkh deni* 'to shave the sides of a face', Skr. *vakṣas*, 'akhor 'walnut-tree'.

A curious correspondence of Bhal. *kh* to Skr. *śr* is found in 'akhu 'a tear' (from the eye), Skr. *aśru*, 'ṣikkhu 'mother-in-law', Skr. *śvaśrū*.

Another curiosity is the correspondence of Bhal. *kh* to Skr. *s* in 'alkhi 'a lazy person', though side by side the word 'alseri 'a person who sleeps too much' also occurs.

The aspirated consonant *gh* occurring in 'baghor 'the "arm" of a shirt or a coat' is another curiosity.

ṭḷ, ḍḷ and ḍhḷ

The occurrence of the consonants ṭḷ, ḍḷ and ḍhḷ in the dialects of the Bhadarwahi group is well known. These consonants may be called 'lateral plosives', the plosion occurring through the sides of the mouth. The *l* element is not distinctly heard: it is scarcely heard in quick speech, e.g. ḍhḷaṭ 'flour-mill' is in quick speech heard as ḍhaṭ. But even though the occurrence of these consonants is well known, it is desirable to undertake a connected study of these sounds, in order to see to which original sounds they correspond.

ṭḷ

ṭḷ mostly corresponds either to an original *tr*, or to a *t* to which *r* has been later added—:

āṭḷ 'intestines'. jaṇṭḷ 'the spinning-wheel'.

'jaṭḷi 'a fair or religious festival, Skr. yātrā.

'joṭḷnu 'to yoke a bullock to the plough', Skr. yoktra-.

'joṭḷri 'a rope which is tied to the pegs of the yoke of a plough'.

kəroṭḷi 'a small saw', Skr. karapatra-.

'muṭḷn^r 'urine'.

'neṭḷi 'the rope with which the churning-stick is shaken'. Perhaps related to Skr. *netrī*.

paṭḷ 'leaf'.

'suṭḷu 'thread used for measuring timber, while sawing'.

'ṭḷakro 'bright', L. 'trakra 'strong'.

'ṭḷakri 'balance', L. 'trakri.

'ṭḷahəkəṛ 'a restive or shy bullock' from Skr. *tras-*, P. *trâ* 'fear'.

ṭḷa 'three', 'ṭḷèḍḍo 'oblique', L. *trêḍa*, H. *ṭerhā*.

'ṭḷenməṇi 'wasp', L. *tər'bhuri* 'wasp', P. *təmuṇi*.

'ṭḷiṛ 'a crack or breach in the soil or wood'. P. *trer*.

ṭḷopp 'sewing', P. *tropa*.

'naṭṭli'iaṇi 'wife of a wife's brother' from 'nato 'wife's brother'.

Here *r* was probably added later to *t*.

uṭḷen 'the Lohri festival', Skr. *uttarāyana-*.

ṭḷe 'dew', P. *tərel* or *trel*.

The ṭḷ in the above words originates from *t+r*.

In the following words other consonants seem to be the origin—:

'ṭḷaṛnu 'to burn' may be from *k`aṛnu 'to boil'.

ṭḷèi 'spleen', Skr. *plihā*.

ṭḷaṭ'kaṇu 'to strike a dirty cloth forcibly against a slab of stone' (in washing). Possibly through *praṭkaṇu, cf. H. *paṭkānā*.

ḍḷ generally goes back to *d+r*, as in 'bhaḍḷo 'the month of Bhadon'.

ḍḷə'bəṇṇi 'ḍeṇi, in washing clothes, 'to beat a garment with fists'.

Perhaps from 'ḍabṇu 'to press'.

ḍḷaḍḷi 'ringworm', H.N. *dād*, L. *dhaddər*.

'ḍḷebu 'husband's younger brother', Skr. *devara-*.

ḍḷaṭi 'sickle'. ḍḷôi 'oath', perhaps related to Skr. *droha-*. haiḍḷi

'turmeric', haiḍḷo 'yellow'.

muḍḷaṇu 'to castrate', probably through *mudraṇu 'to impress with a ring'.

uḍḷi 'otter', S. *uḍru* 'glutton', N. Ku. *od*.

In the following words $\widehat{d}l$ goes back to other consonants— :

$\widehat{d}l\hat{a}g$ 'leopard', Skr. *vyāghra-*, ' $\widehat{d}l$ akhrī 'side', Skr. *vakṣas*. $\widehat{d}l$ ahəṇ
'eclipse', Skr. *grahaṇa-*.

$\widehat{d}l\hat{e}k\hat{a}ṇu$ 'to boil', L. *gər'kaṇa*.

$\widehat{d}l$ uṇo (1) 'a rope of hemp',

(2) 'the thread or rope holding the beam of a balance',
Skr. *guṇa-*.

$\widehat{d}h$ goes back to dh or bh, and probably to some other consonants as well, which are difficult to trace— :

$\widehat{d}h$ lḗkk 'a push or pushing', N.H.M. *dhakkā*, G. *dhakko*.

$\widehat{u}d$ hḷrnu, to be opened out (the stitches or seam of a garment).

$\widehat{u}d$ hḷorṇu, to open out (the stitches or seam of a garment), H.
udharṇā, udherṇā.

$\widehat{d}h$ lāū 'eyebrow', Skr. *bhrū-*.

$\widehat{d}h$ lāk-'narū 'throat', Bhad. ' $\widehat{d}h$ lākro 'throat'. Connection very difficult to trace.

$\widehat{d}h$ lār 'pain'. A very difficult word to trace.

$\widehat{d}h$ lubrī 'a kind of grass'. It is difficult to say whether this word has any remote connection with Skr. *darbha-*.

The affricates

The affricates ϵ , ϵh , z and zh occur in Bhalesī, as they do in other Pahārī dialects.

ϵ goes back to Skr. *c* in

$\epsilon p\hat{a}\epsilon$ 'indigestion', $\epsilon\hat{a}\epsilon\epsilon\hat{r}$ 'flea', Skr. *cañcarī* 'bee', ' ϵ akro 'the cakor bird'.

It is related to H. *k* in $\epsilon\hat{a}rk$ 'thunder', H. *karḷk*.

It is connected with Bhad. *ʃ* in $\epsilon\hat{e}'ruṇṭi$ 'the apricot tree', Bhad. *ʃēru*.

ϵh corresponds to various Skr. consonants.

It corresponds to Skr. *ch* in

$b\hat{i}'\epsilon h\hat{a}ṇ$ 'bed', Skr. *vicchādayati*.

' $b\hat{i}\epsilon h\hat{o}ṇu$ 'to be separated', Skr. **vicchoṭayati*.

' $\epsilon h\hat{e}kk\hat{i}$ 'sneeze', Skr. lex. *chikkā*, N. *chīk*.

$\epsilon h\hat{i}l$, 'the bark or skin of a tree', Skr. *challi-* 'bark', N. *chilnu* 'to peel'.

It corresponds to Pk. *ch* in ' $\epsilon h\hat{a}ṭṭnu$ 'to winnow grain', Pk. *chaṭṭā* 'drop', P. *chaṭṭṇa* 'to winnow', N. *charnu* 'to sow'.

It also goes back to Skr. *kṣ* in

$i\hat{e}h$ 'the bear', $\epsilon h\hat{e}'\hat{t}l$ 'field', ' $b\hat{h}\epsilon\hat{e}h\hat{u}t$ 'beggar', Skr. *bhik'ṣu-*.

ṣh also goes back to Skr. ts in 'maṣhəḷi 'fish', 'baṣhuṛ 'male calf'.

It corresponds to Skr. śv in 'ṣhetto 'white', N. śveta-

z goes back to Skr. j in Δzṣ 'today', əzirn 'indigestion', zḷṅg 'leg', zosəṅ 'moon', Skr. jyotsnā 'moonlight'.

It corresponds to Skr. jv in 'zaṇu 'to kindle', Skr. jvālaya-

zh indicates occasional tendencies to spontaneous aspiration of z in zhall 'flame' side by side with 'zḷnu 'to burn', zhṅg 'leg' side by side with zḷṅg, 'zhumiā 'at evening time' side by side with 'zumiā. The origin of this word is obscure.

The Nasals

Skr. ma- finds a correspondence in Bhal. wā in əwās 'Amāvasyā'. n initial in Bhal. corresponds to Skr. n, as in 'nilo 'blue', niū 'foundation'. It corresponds to Skr. m in 'baneru 'left-handed' from Skr. vāma-. Perhaps it is a consonantal nasal extension of baō 'left', Bhal. nn corresponds to Skr. nd in 'māno 'bad', Skr. manda-. It corresponds to Skr. ndh in sann 'evening', Sgh. Sañda, H. sājh. It goes back to Skr. ṇḍ in bhann 'buffoon', Skr. bhaṇḍa-, 'kunnu 'a cistern filled with water for washing purposes', Skr. kuṇḍa-.

It corresponds to P. ṇḍ in 'mānṇi 'a large cake', L.P. maṇḍa 'a large cake'.

ṇ, when final, corresponds to Skr. n as in baṇ 'forest', daḷkheṇ 'South', daṇ 'dowry'.

ṇ at the end of a prefix also goes back to Skr. n, as in 'ḷṇbeḷu 'untimely', ḷṇ'ṣaddo 'uninvited'.

Intervocalic ṇ also corresponds to Skr. n, as in 'dhaṇū 'bow', 'ḷppuṇu 'one's own'.

It also goes back to Skr. ṇḍ in 'aṇi 'testicle'.

l

The treatment of Skr. l is unique in Bhalesī. Intervocalic Skr. l and intervocalic l appearing in the corresponding words of other Indo-Aryan dialects entirely disappear in Bhal. words, as in ba 'hair', 'bakhḷu 'dandruff', bi'ai 'night-meal', Tor. biyāli, H. byālū, byārī 'evening-meal', Pk. viāla- 'evening'. əau 'rice', H. cāval. ḍa 'branch', A.B.P. ḍāl 'branch', N. ḍālo 'branch'. gai 'abuse'. kəpa 'forehead'. 'kajar 'blackness', probably from 'kaiar > 'kaiar > 'kajar. 'kazo 'liver', Pk. kāleya-, P. kə'leja, N. kalejo. kao 'black'.

na (1) a water-channel which brings water to a flour-mill; (2) barrel of a gun; (3) shuttle of a loom. From Skr. nāla-.

naṛ (1) rivulet, (2) the pipe of bellows. From classical Skr. nālī. sār 'wife's sister', H. sālī.

r is sometimes the substitute for l, as in

rēhəṇ 'garlic', B. rasun, O. rasuṇa, Skr. laśuna-.

'ḷmri 'name of a herb with a pleasant sour taste', Doğri ḷmbəḷ.

kur'həri 'axe', H. kulhārī.

Sometimes *rr* occurs for *l*, as in

'*nerru* 'mongoose', Skr. *nakula-*, K. *nyaulo*, A.B. *neul*, N. *nyauri*.

'*phurru* 'flower'. Here, however, a double *ll*, occurring in Skr. *phulla-*, is the origin.

h is probably substituted for *l* in *mêhənu* 'to meet, obtain, reach', pp. 'moho or 'meho, as in *te meī* 'moho or 'meho 'he met me', *meī ru'peiyo moho* or 'meho 'money reached me', i.e. 'I obtained money', Skr. *mil-*.

On the other hand, suffixal *l* tends to be preserved, as in '*bemmlo* 'the reverse side of a shirt, razor', etc., Skr. *vāma-*. '*beiral* 'the external portion of a house', *bəjal* 'a relative', '*dātwal* 'ploughman', '*disol* 'midday meal': *dis* means the 'sun' in Pahārī Sirājī. '*eglie* 'last year', cf. '*Agre* 'further', '*Agri* 'at first'.

l is a reduced form of *ḍhl̥* in the postposition *-lakh* 'towards' in the Southern dialect, the corresponding form in the Northern dialect being *ḍhl̥lakh*. Cf. South '*ghore-lakh* 'towards the horse', North '*ghore-ḍhl̥lakh*.

Intervocalic *l*, however, is maintained in a few words like the following—:

'*balı* 'sand', '*balu* 'nose-ring', *gu'hal* 'a stall for cows in a house', Skr. *gośālā*, *bəlu* 'the barber's whetstone'; origin obscure. It is difficult to say whether this word has any connection with Ḍogrī '*pləṇa* 'to sharpen an instrument'.

• *bə'leṭṭlo* 'the leather ropes which are wound round the yoke of a plough', Skr. *varatrā*.

The above may perhaps be loan-words.

l is substituted for *r* in *luḍḍər* 'the god Rudra'.

l is a substitute for *r* in the more recent word *si'les* 'glue', H. *sareś*.

r

In the initial position, *r* corresponds to Skr. *r*, as in '*ruppelo* 'silver', '*rufnu* 'to be angry', *ratt* 'blood'. But in the intervocalic position, an intervocalic *r*, still preserved in Bhād., is lost in Bhal. in the genitive case, cf. '*ghoreu* 'of the horse', Bhād. '*ghorero*.

r corresponds to P. *r̥* in '*arū* 'sour peach', P. '*aṛu*, N. *āru*.

It goes back to Skr. *ṣṭh-* in *kūr* 'leprosy' in the word *chitt-kūr* 'white leprosy', N. *seto kor*.

r̥

r̥ corresponds to *ḍḍ* in Bhād., as in '*baṛo* 'great', Bhād. '*baḍḍo*. It occurs before *ch* or *ḥ*, parallel to *r* of several other dialects, in '*baṛchi* 'lance', '*kaṛchi* 'ladle'.

It sometimes corresponds to H. *l*, as in *mēr*, 'heaps of accumulated dirt', H. *mail*; *kharkhar dei* 'hasnu 'to burst out into laughter', H. *khil-kilā kar haṃsnā*.

s

s goes back to Skr. s, as in sēda 'always', sarg 'the sky', sī'ha 'furrow', Skr. sītā, 'soṇu 'to deliver'. Skr. s is often preserved in intervocalic position, as in ə'sukhto 'difficult', 'disol 'midday meal'. But it also stands side by side with h in

'teṣi or 'tehi 'by her'.

'ase or 'ahe 'by us'.

It is changed into h in dr'haro 'the sun', Skr. *divasa-*.

ʃ

Bhal. ʃ corresponds to Skr. ś, as in 'ʃaddṇu 'to call', dʃ 'ten'. It also corresponds to Skr. ṣ as in ʃâ 'six', 'baʃnu 'to cry', 'chirp'.

It corresponds to Skr. s in 'ʃetthu 'beeswax', Skr. *siktham*, P. 'sīttha, 'ʃerio 'mustard', Skr. *sarṣapa-*, N. *sarsiū*, Ku. *sarsyū*.

It corresponds to Skr. kh in neʃ or neʃ, 'nail' (of finger or toe), Skr. *nakha-*, N. *nañ*, H. *nah*.

h

Bhal. h corresponds to Skr. h, as in hōûs 'the swan', heū 'snow'. As already indicated above, it corresponds to Skr. s in various forms of the verb substantive, present tense.

It corresponds to Skr. ś in 'ē·hiṇi 'hail', N. 'asinu, Skr. *aśani-*; gu'hal 'a stall for cows in a house', Skr. *gośālā*. As in several other Indo-Aryan dialects, it occasionally occurs as an initial prothetic sound, as in 'hezzu 'as yet', but ʌzz 'today', 'hanṭṭṇu 'to walk', Skr. lex. *aṅṭhate*, N. *hīṇu* 'to go'.

CONSONANT-GROUPS

While a Sanskrit nasal+voiced consonant, as shown above, is changed in Bhal. into nn, a nasal+voiceless consonant remains unchanged in the dialect. Cf. nt in dant 'tooth', antər 'inside', an'tral 'the inner portion of a house'.

ṅk as in kaṅkəṇ 'bracelet', 'kaṅkal 'poor, wretched', 'kaṅkei 'comb', Pk. *kaṅkaa*, A. *kāikai*, B. *kākui*. In laṅk 'loin-cloth', ṅk corresponds to ṅ in H. *laṅgoṭā*.

nth is preserved in manth 'a churning stick', H. *mathānī*, P. *məḍhaṇi*.

gr is preserved in 'agre 'further', 'agri 'first, at first', 'agro-agre 'at first'.

rdh is preserved in bar'dhaṇu 'to cut the hair', Skr. *vardhayati* 'cuts', P. *vaddhṇa*.

Skr. ṅg remains unchanged in monosyllables like aṅg 'limb', or in accented syllables as 'aṅgəli, but in unaccented syllables in polysyllabic words it is changed into ṅ, as a'ṅari 'name of a herb with red flowers'.

Skr. sy becomes si in the Northern, s in the Southern dialect, as in âsi 'month' (North), âs (South).

WORD-BUILDING

In the formation of derivative words, it may be of interest to note the various suffixes which are generally prevalent in the dialect.

A final *r* with occasional modifications *ri* and *ro* is a favourite suffix in the dialect. Cf.— :

'*ɟaŋt̪l̪or* ' the long string which goes round a spinning-wheel ', from
ɟaŋt̪l̪ ' a spinning-wheel '.

gu'ar ' a temporary hut for pastoral purposes ', cf. *gaũ* ' cow '.

ɛr'thjoɟər ' an underhand tale-bearer ', from ' *ɛrthi* ' tale-bearing '.

təlökkər ' the lower support of a large box for storing maize '.

bəhəkər ' an ox good for the plough '. Probably from Skr. *vah-*
' to carry '.

bêukhər ' a cow which gives milk for two years ', from Skr. *dvi-*.

na'ʃwɛ̃t̪iɾ ' a run-away (eloped) pair, man and woman ', from
' *naʃnu* ' to run away '.

həlɑɾi ' the handle of a plough '.

' *zɛ̃t̪ri* ' locks of hair ', cf. ' *zə̃t̪ɑ* ' woman's hair '.

di'orri ' glowworm '.

' *alseri* ' a person who sleeps too much '.

' *ɛɟpɾo* ' coagulated pus from the eye '.

' *hɛ̃t̪əro* ' winter ', cf. *hɛ̃ũ* ' snow ', *hɛ̃t̪* ' winter '.

-*r* is another suffix, which forms adjectival words. Cf.— :

zhaŋ'ghətər ' forward in walking, adventurous ', cf. *zhaŋg* ' leg '.

khi'dəhər ' jolly, sportive ', cf. ' *khɛ̃d̪u* ' to play '.

bhat'təhər ' a very large basket in which cooked meal is stored
during a wedding '.

A final or penultimate *l*, often in the form -*al*, -*alo*, -*ollu* or -*lu*, is another prevalent suffix. Cf.— :

kukri'al ' the dry stalks of the maize crop, after the ears have been
cut off ', from ' *kukri* ' maize '.

baɟi'al ' braggart ', Bhad. ' *baɟdo* ' great '.

nissəl ' fertile '.

' *sanhelu* ' evening-star ', from *sann* ' evening '.

' *zɛ̃t̪rialo* ' having locks of hair '.

ɛr'ollu ' bird in general ', P. ' *ɛri* ' sparrow '.

gə'ŋəlli ' honey-bee '. *gaŋ* also means honey-bee.

gə'r həlli ' braid of hair ', from *gə̃ri* ' braid of hair '.

A final -*r* with the modifications -*ri*, -*ru* or -*ro* forms abstract nouns or adjectives— :

' *kajar* ' blackness ', from *kao* ' black '.

' *nilar* ' blueness ' or ' greenness '.

dhũ'ari ' mist '.

zageru ' vigil in religious festivals '.

dēhē'neru 'in the game called 'ghiccōri, throwing the piece 'ghiccōri with the right hand', from dēhəṇ 'right'.

'bhęngro 'squint-eyed', H.L. bheṅgā, B. bheṅgurā 'crippled'.

'kō'sro 'tepid'.

-Δũ in the masculine, -ęĩ in the feminine, are used to form ordinal numbers, sometimes adjectives. -ōũ and -iũ also form adjectives—:

'duΔũ (m.).

'duęĩ (f.) 'second', from du 'two'.

't̥ļęiΔũ (m.).

't̥ļęięĩ (f.) 'third', from ȷ̣ȷ̣a 'three'.

'pattrΔũ (adj.) 'behind', cf. 'patte (adv.) 'behind'.

phá'loũ 'fruitful'.

mə'zhariũ 'one in the midst, spoken of a son or sons born between the eldest and the youngest', from mâz 'between'.

Sometimes -k is added, either to form a noun, or to extend a verb. Cf.—:

sirk 'double sewing', from 'siṇu 'to sew'.

'ghulkṇu 'to be dissolved', cf. H. ghulnā.

A final -t is sometimes added to form a noun from another noun. Cf. hęūt 'winter', from hęũ 'snow', ȷ̣r̥ęit 'that portion of a bedstead on which the head rests'. A final ȥ is also similarly added. Cf. ẓr̥'bhȥ 'talkative', from ẓib 'tongue', ḍaṅ'goȥ 'a large rope to tie cattle', cf. ḍāo 'rope to tie cattle'.

Suffixes -a, -ã, -rhã, -ri, -talia, -ria and -taniã are added to form adverbs. Cf.—:

'kęisa 'when?'

'kęisa-kęisa 'sometimes, now and then'.

'zhazza 'in the morning', from zhaz 'morning'.

'sannã 'in the evening', from sann 'evening'.

'zęrhã 'whichever way'.

'irhã 'this way, to this side'.

'kurhã 'which way, whither', cf. 'kṇu 'which'.

'tęrhã 'thither' (remote), cf. tē 'that'.

'urhã 'thither' (intermediate), cf. u, 'that'.

'ęri 'here'.

'zęri 'where'.

'kōri 'where?'

tęri 'thither'.

zə'talia 'at every time, at whatever time'.

tęt'talia 'at that very time'.

'ekhuria 'in this way'.

'zękhuria 'just as'.

'kokhuria 'in what way'.

'okhuria 'in that manner'.

'təkhurid 'in the same way'.

zə'taniũ 'when'.

ki'taniũ 'at what time'.

tə'taniũ 'just at that time'.

Diminutives are formed by the addition of a final -uṭṭu, -ətu, -əru, -eḷa, -lu, -ri and -əlli. Cf.—:

na'suṭṭu, 'the beam of a spinning-wheel', from nās 'the main beam of a roof'.

kuk'rətu 'a chick' (young one of a hen), from kukər.

'kutrəru 'puppy', from kutər 'dog'.

'baṭṭelu 'a small stone for grinding salt'.

'buklu 'kidney', Skr. vṛkka-, Rom. buko, L. 'bukki.

gu'həlri 'a small cow-stall, from gu'həl 'a cow-stall'.

ghə'rəlli 'a small pot', from 'ghəro 'pot', L. ghəṛōli.

GRAMMAR

Of the grammatical categories, the occurrence of the neuter gender in Bhālesī has been already described by me in detail in my article on the 'Neuter Gender in Bhādarwahi', *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. I, parts II–IV, pp. 18–21, and I have to add nothing further to the facts mentioned therein. As regards the feminine gender, the common feminine suffix is *r*, as 'ghorī 'mare', 'barī 'great'. The feminine suffixes -anī, -nī, -en and -ud are also occasionally met with, as in

ḍlēbbu'anī, 'husband's younger brother's wife', from ḍlēbu 'husband's younger brother'.

naṭṭli'anī 'wife of wife's brother', from 'nato 'wife's brother'.

'səhñī 'female leopard which is with cubs'.

'cəhən 'female bear', from iəh 'bear'.

'nilud 'female wild cock', feminine of nil 'a wild cock'.

PLURAL NUMBER

There are two numbers, singular and plural. The formation of plural is somewhat intricate, and it will therefore be necessary to consider it more closely.

The plural of masculine nouns shows few irregularities. Nouns or adjectives ending in *o* form their nominative plural regularly by changing the *o* into *e*, as

'ghoro, pl. 'ghore 'horses'.

'bagro 'field', pl. 'bage.

'agno 'innumerable', pl. 'agne.

'billo 'flat', pl. 'bille.

Nouns ending in sounds other than *o*, however, maintain their forms unchanged in the *nominative* plural. The following words, for instance, have exactly the same form in singular and plural (Nominative Case)—:

lu'har 'blacksmith'.

'teli 'oil-presser'.

'pəkkhru 'bird'.

'phagu 'fig-tree'.

'kharu 'a basket which may be carried by the hand'.

gΛôḍ 'an insect injurious to the maize crop'.

εφuk 'four parts of the human body, viz. upper part of the chest, the two shoulders, and the back of the shoulders'.

εΔεεεṛ 'flea'.

εau 'rice'.

The only exception available is the word bhêi 'brother'. Its plural is bhêija.

The formation of *neuter* plurals is more intricate. Neuter nouns ending in consonants add a final ã to form the plural—:

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
pə:t 'stomach'	'pə:tã
mig 'wild goat'	'miggã
pεt 'belly'	'pεtã
koṛ 'small rafter in the roof of a house'	'koṛã
ghar 'house'	'gharã

Neuter nouns ending in õ change the õ into ã—:

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
εi'rõ 'the apricot fruit'	'εirã
εoiõ 'the apple fruit'	εoiã

Neuter nouns ending in u change the u into uã—:

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
'phagu 'the fig-fruit'	'phaguã
'arũ 'sour peach' (fruit)	'aruã
'phurru 'flower'	'phurruã
'kaṭṭu 'male calf'	'keṭṭuã
'kutrəru 'puppy'	'kutrəruã
gul'daru 'name of a fruit'	gul'daruã
'zaṇu 'knee'	'zaṇuã
'εiṛəllu 'bird'	εiṛəlluã

In the above list, the plurals of 'kaṭṭu and εi'rõ show a change in the first vowels as well, viz. Δ being changed into e ('keṭṭuã) and i having been changed into i ('εirã). This vowel change will be particularly noticed in feminine plurals.

The following neuter nouns, which in the singular end in a minute u, drop the vowel in the plural—:

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
pakh ^u 'a fan which works inside the water in a flour-mill'.	pakh
matṭh ^u 'boy'	matṭh

The plural of 'baṣhur 'male calf' is 'beṣhuru.

The following neuter nouns have exactly the same forms in singulars and plurals— :

'kheṛu 'wound', 'kahṛuo 'firewood', 'eieṣu 'teat or breast'.

The formation of feminine plurals is much more intricate. The general principle is that in the plural number closer vowels are substituted for more open vowels in the singular. This change occurs, not only in the final vowel, but also in the first vowel [except single long a and o (sometimes)] of every word. Cf.— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
'laṛi 'she fought'	'leṛi
'maṛi 'she died'	'meṛi
'gei 'she went'	'gei
khai ' (it) was eaten '	khêi
zi 'she lived'	zi
ai 'she came'	ei
pei 'she lay'	pei
nei 'it was carried'	nei
bhoi 'she became'	bhui
zoi ' (it) was spoken '	zphi
osei'ghoṛi 'our mare'	osei'ghoṛi
'ghoṛi auwəi'ache 'the mare has arrived'	'ghoṛi aw'wphi ahən
'papṛi 'butterfly'	'papṛi
'machəli 'honey-bee'	'machəli
'kəbli 'potato'	'kəbli
'kəni 'rib'	'kəni
'arini } 'unvil'	'arini
or 'arhini }	
di'həṛi 'day'	di'həṛi
'thali 'plate'	'thali
'aṅgəli 'finger'	'aṅgəli
'aṇi 'testicle'	'aṇi
'əūjəli 'mosquito'	'əūjəli
'bidi 'ant'	bi'di or bi'dija
'chiṇi 'the iron wedge used in cutting wood'.	'chiṇi
cəṛari 'the cricket'	cəṛari

Feminine nouns ending in the vowels i, au, eu, and those ending in consonants, form their plural by the ending -ā— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
bhi 'a very small bee'	bhiã
gΔũ 'cow'	gΔũã
ḍh̄l̄Δũ 'eyebrow'	ḍh̄l̄Δũã
ɕeu 'the pine tree'	'ɕeuã
ɕoĩ 'the apple tree'	'ɕoĩã
ʃΔm 'the handle of the bellows of a black-smith'	'ʃΔmmã
lâs 'the rope to which the scales of a balance are tied'	lâsã
gΔll 'a talk'	'gΔllã
ṭiṭṭ 'a kind of insect'	'ṭiṭṭã
bhɛr 'sheep and goats in general'	'bhɛrã
bukhər 'broom'	'bukhrã
ãṭḷ 'intestines'	'ãṭḷã

The following is a sketch of the changes which the vowel in the first syllable of a word undergoes when the word becomes plural—:

$\Delta > \epsilon$; $\epsilon > e$; $\epsilon > i$, $\circ > u$, $o > \phi$, $o > u$, $u > u$, $u > y$.

Examples—:

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
khâllı 'bellows'	khèlli
'ʃΔŋgli 'chain'	'ʃɛŋgli
'ʃΔɳɛı 'an instrument used by the black-smith to catch hold of iron'	'ʃɛɳɛı
'phΔṭṭı 'a section of the beam of a spinning-wheel'	'phɛṭṭı
'mΔtı 'much'	'mɛti
'kΔlı 'bud'	'kɛli
'kΔɕhlı 'armpit'	'kɛɕhli
'kΔṭṭı 'the female calf of a buffalo'	'kɛṭṭı
'dΔllɔrı 'rib'	'dɛllɔrı
'bΔṭṭı 'egg'	'bɛṭṭı
bârı 'year'	bɛrı
'zɛṭrı 'locks of hair'	'zɛṭrı
'ɕhɛŋgri 'eye-lid'	'ɕhɛŋgri
'rɔṭṭı 'loaf of bread'	'ruṭṭı
'bɔḍḍhı 'old woman'	'buḍḍhı
'ʃɔrı 'pair'	'ʃɔrı
hı'nɔrı 'name of a herb with lovely flowers'	hı'nɔrı
'pɔrı 'flake of cotton for preparing thread at the spinning-wheel'	'puɳı
'lɔṭki 'a small jug'	'luṭki
'ɕhōṭı 'chain'	'ɕhūṭı

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
'kõɽɪ 'key'	'kũɽi
'ɽuɽɽɪ 'shoe'	'ɽuɽɽi
'suɽɪ 'white ant'	'syɽi
'guɽɽɪ 'artistic work on pillars'	'gyɽɽi
'mulli 'wrinkle on the face'	'mylli

Feminine nouns terminating in diphthongs ending in -ɪ form their plural by the termination -ɑ— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
koi 'girl'	kuia
sai 'wife's sister'	'saiɑ
nai 'rivulet'	'naiɑ
ɛoi 'ear of the paddy crop'	'ɛoiɑ

A few feminine nouns ending in consonants form their nominative plural by the termination -i— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
rat 'night'	'rati
'pakhor 'arm'	'pakhorɪ
bhen 'sister'	'bhenɪ

The following feminine plurals are irregular— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
'ɽikkhu 'mother-in-law'	ɽikkhu
	taɪ 'cymbals' (has no singular).
pakh 'wing of a bird'	'pakhu
maɽhəli 'fish'	'meɽhli
zəŋg 'leg'	zəŋg
zaɪ 'husband's sister'	zəɪã
'nəli 'forepart of the lower leg'	'neli

CASES

It is very difficult to determine what the actual cases in this dialect are, for the sense of the oblique cases is regulated by several postpositions, with some of which the oblique case singular ending in -e is used, while with others the oblique case singular ending in -ɑ is used. The complexity is further enhanced by the fact that it is difficult to differentiate some of these postpositions, for though some of them have the same meanings, some go with the oblique case ending in -e, others go with the oblique case ending in -ɑ. The exact determination of the actual cases is therefore a subject for future research. The following material collected about these postpositions may throw some light on the nature of these cases— :

I. Postpositions with which the oblique case singular ending in -e is used— :

-ləi 'for the sake of'

'ghoṛe-ləi 'for the sake of the horse'.

-zi 'for the sake of'

'teli-zi 'for the sake of the oil-presser'.

-ḍh̄l̄l̄k̄h (North) } 'towards'.
-l̄k̄h (South) }

'ghoṛe-ḍh̄l̄l̄k̄h or 'ghoṛe-l̄k̄h 'towards the horse'.

-dh̄are (North), 'ghoṛe-dh̄are 'towards the horse'.

-kaṇiã or -keṇiã 'from'

'ghare-kaṇiã or 'ghare-keṇiã 'from the house'.

-biṛiã 'out of'

is 'ghare-biṛiã 'niṣṣi 'gaha 'get out of this house'.

-mâza 'out of'

is 'ghare-mâza 'niṣṣi 'gaha 'get out of this house'.

-antra 'out of'

'naje-antra 'out of the rivulet'.

-mâz meṛiã 'throughout'

'dhare-mâz meṛiã 'throughout the mountain'.

-bèṛ or -bèṛ 'near'

'naje-bèṛ 'near the rivulet'.

-biṛ (North) or biṛiã 'near'

'ghoṛe-biṛ or -biṛiã 'near the horse'.

-kaṇi or -keṇi 'near'

'naje-kaṇi or naje-keṇi 'near the rivulet'.

-puṛ 'on'

'ghoṛe-puṛ 'on the horse'.

-puṛm̄ḍi 'right above'

'dhare-puṛm̄ḍi 'right above the mountain'.

-puṛa 'from over or on'

'ghoṛe-puṛa 'from over (or on) the horse'.

-bunm̄ḍi 'continuously beneath, down along'

'badlu 'sarge-bunm̄ḍi çəlu theṽ 'the cloud was floating continuously under the sky'.

-heṛm̄ḍi 'continuously beneath, down along'

'badlu 'sarge-heṛm̄ḍi 'çəlu.

-kə'reriã 'around, on all sides'

is gəḍḍe-kə'reriã ḍhəḍḍ çhən 'there are mountains around this river'.

-mâz 'inside or in'

'ghare-mâz 'inside or in the house'.

II. Postpositions with which the oblique case singular ending in -a is used—:

-'heri or -'heṛi 'for' (purpose)

naia-'heri 'for the barber'.

-heri or -hēri 'of' or 'from'

naia-'heri 'dara 'be afraid of the barber'.

-bēe 'above'

na'ja-bēe 'above the rivulet'.

-bēmēi or -bēhemēi 'right above', i.e. 'at a good distance, but straight from', 'naja-bēmēi 'right above the rivulet'.

-ber 'outside'

'ghara-ber 'outside the house'.

-'kharu 'from'

'azza-kharu 'from today'. 'kharu seems to mean literally 'up', as in 'kharu 'gharū 'to throw up a ball while playing'.

-kēri 'than' (comparative)

meu 'ghoro 'use gho'ra-kēri 'rullo e 'my horse is better than his horse'.

The above material will indicate the complexity of the problem. Roughly speaking, apart from the postpositions, e is the termination of the Dative, a the termination of the Ablative. Thus, without using any postposition, one can say, 'ghare 'gaha 'go to the house' (Dative), and 'ghara niffi 'gaha 'get out of the house' (Ablative). But complexity arises as soon as we consider the above postpositions—:

(1) If -e is the ending of the Dative and -a the ending of the Ablative, why is it said naie-lei 'for the barber', but naia-heri 'for the barber'? Both the prepositions have the same meaning, but with one the oblique ends in -e, with the other the oblique ends in -a.

(2) The postposition -heri is in itself a puzzle. How has -heri come to have so opposite meanings as 'for the sake of' and (afraid) 'of' or 'from'? Its etymology is very obscure.

(3) Why is it said 'ghore-pur 'on the horse', but gho'ra bēe 'above the horse'? Is there any connection of the Ablative sense with 'above'?

An interesting feature is the -a ending at the end of postpositions to signify the Ablative. Cf.—:

'ghare-antra 'from inside the house', but 'ghare-antor 'inside the house'.

'ghare-mâza 'from inside the house', but 'ghare-mâz 'inside the house'.

'ghore-pura 'from over (or on) the horse', but 'ghore-pur 'on the horse'.

This Ablative sense here seems to have been a later signification evolved by the addition of -a to the postposition.

In the face of the above-mentioned complications, the treatment of the actual cases can at present be only tentative. We shall follow the usual scheme of cases as observed in the grammars of Indo-Aryan languages, though the application of such a scheme will be far from being satisfactory.

THE CASES IN DETAIL

The forms of both the Nominative and the Accusative are the same in Bhal., Bhad. and Khaś.— :

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	'ghoṛo 'horse'	'ghoṛe
Acc.	'ghoṛo 'horse'	'ghoṛe

The Agent case has the following terminations— :

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Bhal.	e	ε
Bhad.	e	ēī
Khaś.	e	ē

Examples— :

Bhal.	'ghoṛe	'ghoṛε
Bhad.	'ghoṛe	'ghoṛēī
Khaś.	'ghoṛe	'ghoṛē

The Dative has the following terminations in the three allied dialects— :

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Bhal.	e	ən
Bhad.	e	ən
Khaś.	e-ni	e-ni

Examples— :

Bhal.	'ghoṛe	ghoṛən
Bhad.	'ghoṛe	ghoṛən
Khaś.	'ghoṛeni	'ghoṛeni

Besides the above terminations, Bhal. adds to them the postpositions -lei or -heri to denote purpose : Bhad. adds -jo or jaṭu-

Bhal. 'ghoṛe-lei or 'ghoṛe-heri 'for the horse'.

Bhad. 'ghoṛe-jo or 'ghoṛe jaṭu 'for the horse'.

In the Genitive case, the Bhalesī vowel-endings are very complicated, owing to the loss of a previous intervocalic r, and Ablaut i : i, ε : e.

Genitive Singular (qualifying words of various genders and numbers):

Bhal. gho'ṛeu, 'ghoṛeu, 'ghoṛei, 'ghoṛei (m. & n.), 'ghoṛei.

Bhad. 'ghoṛero, 'ghoṛeru, 'ghoṛeri, 'ghoṛere, 'ghoṛerā, 'ghoṛeri.

Genitive Plural (qualifying words of various genders and numbers):

Bhal. 'ghoṛkeu, 'ghoṛkeu, 'ghoṛkei, 'ghoṛkei (m. & n.), 'ghoṛkei.

Bhad. 'ghoṛākero, 'ghoṛākero, 'ghoṛākero, 'ghoṛākere, 'ghoṛākera, 'ghoṛākero.

It will appear from the above examples that the Genitive case, strictly speaking, is an adjective. It varies in gender and number with the word it qualifies and has twelve forms, six when the noun, of which it is the

Genitive, is itself singular, and six when the noun is itself plural. Each of these forms further varies with the gender and number of the succeeding noun qualified— :

- 'ghoṛeu khur 'horse's hoof' (khur being masc.).
 'ghoṛeu ṭir 'horse's eye' (ṭir being n.)
 'ghoṛei zâṅg 'horse's leg' (zâṅg being f.).
 gho'ṛei khur 'horse's hoofs'.
 gho'ṛei 'ṭirã 'horse's eyes'.
 gho'ṛei zèṅg 'horse's legs'.
 'ghoṛkeu malæk 'horses' master' (horses being plural).
 'ghoṛkeu ghar 'horses' stall'.
 'ghoṛkei 'kacārāi 'horses' grazing-tax'.
 'ghoṛkei khur 'horses' hoofs'.
 'ghoṛkei 'ṭirã 'horses' eyes'.
 'ghoṛkei zèṅg 'horses' legs'.

The Ablative in Bhal. has the termination -a, as gho'ṛa 'from the horse', pl. -an, gho'ṛan. Several postpositions, however, are also added to it, as—

- Singular gho'ṛakṛi, gho'ṛa-biriã, gho'ṛakṛiã.
 Plural gho'ṛan-kṛi, gho'ṛanbiriã, gho'ṛankṛiã.

But in the Bhad. and Khaś. Ablative, postpositions are always added to the termination -e, as Bhad. 'ghoṛekṛã 'from the horse', Khaś. 'ghoṛe ga.

The Ablative postposition -kṛi is used the sense of 'than' to indicate the comparative, as—

- mēu 'ghoṛo use gho'ṛa-kṛi 'rullo ε 'my horse is better than his'.

The other postpositions, -'kṛiã, -biriã, etc., however, cannot be used in this sense.

The Locative has the oblique termination -e, to which -puṛ ('on'), -mâz or -antṛ ('in') is added, as 'ghare-puṛ 'on the house', 'ghare-mâz or -antṛ 'in the house'.

Bhad. has also the same Locative postpositions, but Khaś. has -ṭir 'on', -mũ 'in'.

The vocative has sg. -a, pl. -o for masc. and -io for neuter nouns; sg. -e, pl. -io for feminine nouns, e.g.

<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
'ghoṛa	'O horse'	'ghoṛo
'maṭṭha	'O boy'	'maṭṭhio
'ghoṛie	'O mare'	'ghoṛio

DECLENSION

The general characteristic feature of declension, as already noted under the vowel-system, is the varying use of the vowels i and i (the latter

in oblique and plural), of the diphthongs of various shades of sounds and meanings formed by the loss of the intervocalic r, and the optional maintenance of the gender form in neuter adjectives as 'rullu 'maṭṭhe or 'rulle maṭṭhe 'by the good boy'.

Paradigms—:

NOUNS

'ghoṛo (m.) 'horse'

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	'ghoṛo	'ghoṛe
Acc.	'ghoṛo	'ghoṛe
Ag.	'ghoṛe	gho'ṛe
Dat.	'ghoṛe	ghoṛən
Gen.	'ghoṛeu, { -eu } or { -eū }, -ei, -ei (m.n.), -ei	'ghoṛkeu, { -keu } { -keū }, -kei, -kei (m.n.), -kei
Ab.	gho'ṛa or gho'ṛakṛi	gho'ṛan, gho'ṛan-kṛi
Loc.	'ghoṛe-puṛ	ghoṛən puṛ
Voc.	'ghoṛa	'ghoṛo

ghaṛ (n.) 'house'

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	ghaṛ	'ghaṛā
Acc.	ghaṛ	'ghaṛā
Ag.	'ghaṛe	'ghaṛe
Dat.	'ghaṛe	ghaṛən
Gen.	'ghaṛeu, { -eu } { -eū }, -ei, -ei (m.n.), -ei	'ghaṛkeu, { -keu } { -keū }, -kei, -kei, -kei
Ab.	gha'ṛa or gha'ṛakṛi	gha'ṛan, 'ghaṛā or gha'ṛan-kṛi
Loc.	'ghaṛe-puṛ, -mâz, -antər	gha'ṛan-puṛ, -mâz, -antər
Voc.	gha'ṛa	'ghaṛo

'ghoṛi (f.) 'mare'

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	'ghoṛi	'ghoṛi
Acc.	'ghoṛi	'ghoṛi
Ag.	'ghoṛie	'ghoṛie
Dat.	'ghoṛi	ghoṛiən
Gen.	ghoṛieṛu, { -eu } { -eū }, -ei, -e (m.n.), -ei	'ghoṛikeu, { -keu } { -keū }, -kei, -ke
Ab.	gho'ṛia, -kṛi	ghoṛi'an, -kṛi
Loc.	'ghoṛie-puṛ	ghoṛiən-puṛ
Voc.	'ghoṛie	'ghoṛio

nar (f.) 'rivulet'

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	nar	'naja
Acc.	nar	'naja
Ag.	'naje	'najē
Dat.	'naje	najən
Gen.	'najeu, { -eu } { -eũ } , -ei, -ε (m.n.), -ei	'najikeu, { -keu } { -keũ } , -kei, -ke (m.n.), -kei
Ab.	na'ja, -kəri	na'jan, -kəri
Loc.	'naje-pur, -mâz, -antər	najən-pur, -mâz, -antər

'juṭṭi (f.) 'shoe'

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	'juṭṭi	'juṭṭi
Acc.	'juṭṭi	'juṭṭi
Ag.	juṭṭie	'juṭṭie
Dat.	'juṭṭie	juṭṭiən
Gen.	'juṭṭieü, { -eu } { -eũ } , -ei, -ε (m.n.), -ei	'juṭṭikeu, { -keu } { -keũ } , -kei, -ke (m.n.), -kei
Ab.	juṭṭi'a, -kəri	juṭṭi'an, -kəri
Loc.	juṭṭie-pur, -mâz, -antər	juṭṭiən-pur

maṭṭh^u (n.) 'boy'

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	maṭṭh ^u	maṭṭh
Acc.	maṭṭh ^u	maṭṭh
Ag.	'maṭṭhe	'maṭṭhe
Dat.	'maṭṭhe	maṭṭhən
Gen.	'maṭṭheü, { -eu } { -eũ } , -ei, ei (m.n.), -ei	'maṭṭhkeu, { -keu } { -keũ } , -kei, -ke (m.n.), -kei
Ab.	maṭṭha, -kəri	maṭṭhan
Loc.	'maṭṭhe-pur, -mâz, -antər	maṭṭhən-pur, -mâz, -antər
Voc.	'maṭṭha	maṭṭhi'o

ADJECTIVES

'rullo (m.) 'good'

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	'rullo	'rulle —all cases
Acc.	'rullo	
Ag.	'rulle	
Dat.	'rulle	
Gen.	'rulle	
Ab.	'rulle	
Voc.	'rulla	

'rullu (n.) 'good'

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	'rullu		'rullā
Acc.	'rullu		'rullā
Ag.	'rullu (North also 'rulle)		'rullu (North also 'rulle)
Dat.	'rullu (Do.)		'rullu (Do.)
Gen.	'rullu (Do.)		'rullu (Do.)
Ab.	'rullu (Do.)		'rullu (Do.)
Loc.	'rullu (Do.)		'rullu (Do.)
Voc.	'rullu (Do.)		'rullu (Do.)

'rulli (f.)

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	'rulli		'rulli in all cases
Acc.	'rulli		
Ag.	'rulli		
Dat.	'rulli		
Gen.	'rulli		
Ab.	rulli		
Voc.	'rullie		

PRONOUNS

In the formation of pronouns we find considerable changes in Bhalesī forms. In the first person singular most of the oblique forms have *mēī*, Khaś. and Bhad. *mī*, where *mī* seems to be a later stage; but in plural, the *s* of *as* is optionally changed to *h* in oblique cases, as 'Ahe or 'Ase 'by us', *Ahən* or *Asən* 'to us'. Khaś. goes further and entirely eliminates this *s* or *h*, substituting for it only the high-falling tone; cf. Khaś. *âe* 'by us', *â* 'to us'.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Aũ 'I'

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	Aũ		as
Acc.	mēī		
Ag.	mēī		'Ase, 'Ahe
Dat.	mēī		Asən, 'Ahən
Gen.	mēu, { meu } { meũ } , mēi, mei		əseu, { əseu } { əseũ } , əseɪ, əsei (m.n.), əsei
			<i>or</i>
			əheu, { əheu } { əheũ } , əheɪ, əhei (m.n.), əhei
Ab.	'mē'ra, -kəri		əsan, əhan
Loc.	mēī-puṛ, -mâz, -Antər		Asən puṛ, -mâz, -Antər Ahənpuṛ, -mâz, -Antər

tu 'thou'

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	tu		tus
Acc.
Ag.	tēī		'tuse, 'tuhē
Dat.	tui		tusən, tuhən
Gen.	teī, { teu } teū }, teī, teī (m.n.), teī		tu'seu, { tu'seu } tu'seū }, tu'seī, tu'seī (m.n.), tu'seī <i>or</i> tu'heu, { tu'heu } tu'heū }, tu'heī, tu'heī (m.n.), tu'hei
Ab.	'tēra, -kəri		tu'san or tu'han, -kəri
Loc.	tui-puṛ, -mâz, -antər		'tusən-puṛ, -mâz, or -antər or tuhən-puṛ, -mâz, or -antər

Demonstrative pronouns are three: (1) the near Demonstrative, i 'this'; (2) the Demonstrative of intermediate distance, o 'this or that'; (3) the Demonstrative of remote distance, tē.

i (m.) 'this'

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	i		'inā
Acc.	i		
Ag.	'mi		'inē
Dat.	is		mən
Gen.	i'seu, { i'seu } i'seū }, i'seī, i'seī (m.n.), i'seī		'inkeu, { 'inkeu } 'inkeū }, 'inkeī, 'inkeī, 'inkeī (m.n.)
Ab.	i'sa, -kəri		i'nan, -kəri
Loc.	is-puṛ, -mâz, -antər		mən puṛ, -mâz, -antər

i (n.) 'this'

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	in		The same as m.pl.
Acc.	in		

Other cases the same as m.sg.

i(f.) 'this'

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	i		The same as m.pl.
Acc.	i		
Ag.	'isi		
Dat.	'isi		

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Gen.	ɪ'seɪ, { ɪ'seɪ ɪ'seũ }, ɪ'seɪ, ɪ'seɪ (m.n.), ɪ'seɪ	The same as m.pl.
Ab.	ɪ'sɑ	
Loc.	ɪs-puɾ, -mâz, -ɔntər	

o (m.) 'this or that' (intermediate)

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	o	'unã
Acc.	o	'unã
Ag.	'o'ni	'unẽ
Dat.	o's	unən
Gen.	u'seɪ, { u'seɪ u'seũ }, u'seɪ, u'seɪ (m.n.), u'seɪ	'unkeɪ, { 'unkeɪ 'unkeũ }, 'unkeɪ, 'unkeɪ (m.n.), 'unkeɪ
Ab.	u'sɑ, -kəri	u'nən, -kəri
Loc.	'ospuɾ, -mâz, -ɔntər	'unənpuɾ, -mâz, -ɔntər

o (n.) 'this or that'

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	un	The same as m.pl.
Acc.	un	
Other cases the same as m.sg.		

o (f.) 'this or that'

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	o	The same as m.pl.
Acc.	o	
Ag.	'o'sɪ	
Dat.	'o'sɪ	
Gen.	u'seɪ, { u'seɪ u'seũ }, u'seɪ, u'seɪ (m.n.), u'seɪ	
Ab.	'o'sɑ	
Loc.	'o'sɪ-puɾ, -mâz, -ɔntər	

te (m.) 'that' (remote)

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	te	'tɛnã
Acc.	te	'tɛnã
Ag.	'tɛni	'tɛnẽ
Dat.	tɛs	tɛnən

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Gen.	tɛ'seu, { tɛ'seu } tɛ'sei (m.n.), tɛ'sei	'tɛnkeu, { tɛnkeu } 'tɛnkei (m.n.), 'tɛnkei
Ab.	tɛ'sa, -kɛri	tɛ'nan, -kɛri
Loc.	'tɛspuɾ, -mâz, -antɔr	'tɛnɔnpuɾ, -mâz, -antɔr

tɛ (n.) 'that'

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	tɛn	The same as m.pl.
Acc.	tɛn	
The other cases the same as m.sg.		

tɛ (f.) 'that' (remote)

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	tɛ	The same as m.pl.
Acc.	tɛ	
Ag.	'tɛsi	
Dat.	'tɛsi	
Gen.	tɛ'seu, { tɛ'seu } tɛ'sei (m.n.), tɛ'sei	
Ab.	tɛ'sa	
Loc.	'tɛspuɾ, -mâz, -antɔr	

zɛ (m.) 'who' (relative)

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	zɛ	'zɛnã
Acc.	zɛ	'zɛnã
Ag.	'zɛni	'zɛnẽ
Dat.	zɛs	zɛnɔn
Gen.	zɛ'seu, { zɛ'seu } zɛ'sei (m.n.), zɛ'sei	'zɛnkeu, { 'zɛnkeu } 'zɛnkei (m.n.), 'zɛnkei
Ab.	zɛ'sa, -kɛri	zɛ'nan, -kɛri
Loc.	'zɛspuɾ, -mâz, -antɔr	'zɛnɔnpuɾ, -mâz, -antɔr

zɛ (n.) 'which'

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	zɛn	The same as m.pl.
Acc.	zɛn	

zε (f.) 'who' (relative)

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	zε	The same as m.pl.
Acc.	zε	
Ag.	'zεsɪ	
Dat.	'zεsɪ	
Gen.	zε'seu, { zε'seu zε'seũ }, zε'sei, zε'sei (m.n.), zε'sei	
Ab.	zε'sa, -kεri	
Loc.	'zεsɪpuɾ, -mâz, -antər	

'kɒɳu (m.) who? (interrogative)

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	'kɒɳu	'kɒɳu
Acc.	'kɒɳu	'kɒɳu
Ag.	'kεɳi	'kεɳē
Dat.	kεs	kεɳən
Gen.	kε'seu, { kε'seu kε'seũ }, kε'sei, kε'sei (m.n.), kε'sei	'kεɳkeu, { 'kεɳkeu 'kεɳkeũ }, 'kεɳkei, 'kεɳkei (m.n.), 'kεɳkei
Ab.	kε'sa	kε'ɳan
Loc.	'kεsɪpuɾ, -mâz, -antər	'kεɳən-puɾ, -mâz, -antər

'kɒɳu (n.) 'which?' (interrogative)

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	kən or 'kɒɳu	'kə'nã or 'kɒɳu
Acc.	kən or 'kɒɳu	'kə'nã or 'kɒɳu
	The other cases the same as m.sg.	The other cases the same as m.pl.

'kɒɳu (f.) 'who?'

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	'kɒɳu	The same as m.pl.
Acc.	'kɒɳu	
Ag.	'kεsɪ	
Dat.	'kεsɪ	
Gen.	kε'seu, { kε'seu kε'seũ }, kε'sei, kε'sei (m.n.), kε'sei	
Ab.	kε'sa	
Loc.	'kεsɪpuɾ, -mâz, -antər	

Extension of Pronouns by -khu

The pronouns i, o, tε and zε are often further extended by the addition of -khu (m.n.) and khɪ (f.), without change of meaning. Thus—:

or 'ikhu, f. 'ikhī 'this'.

o or 'okhu, f. 'okhī 'this or that'.

te or 'tekhu, f. 'tekhī 'that'.

ze or 'zekhu, f. 'zekhī 'who'.

From this extended form, adverbs like 'tekhurīa 'in the same way', 'zekhurīa 'just as' are formed.

VERBS : CONJUGATION

In the Bhal. conjugation of the present tense, only the first person (both numbers) and the second person singular show traces of ancient Skr. terminations. Bhad., however, shows a larger number of terminations in which the traces of the ancient ones may be detected. Cf.— :

Present tense of 'piṇu 'to drink'

Bhal.		Bhad.	
<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'pitu	pitəm	'pitā	pitəm
2. 'pitus	'pite	'pita	pitəth
3. pito	'pite	'pite	pitən

In the conjugation of the present tense of verbs ending in vowels, the final vowel is often nasalized in the Southern dialect, but not so much in the Northern dialect. Cf.— :

pītu or 'pitu 'I drink'.

'zōtu or 'zutu 'I speak'.

'dhūtu (North 'dhutu) 'I sweep'.

'zītu or 'zitu 'I live'.

As regards the Verb Substantive, the forms of the present tense occupy an intermediate position between that of Khaś. and Bhad. In Khaś. s is kept in all the forms, in Bhal. h is substituted for s, in Bhad. both h and s are lost. Cf.— :

Khaś.		Bhal.		Bhad.	
<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
1. 'Asā	'Asū	'āhā	ahəm	ēī	am
2. 'Asu	'Asū	ahəs	ahəth	as	ath
3. 'Ase	'Asū	'ahe	ahən	âe	an

The declension of the Verb Substantive, present tense, has the same forms in all the genders in the Southern dialect, but the North has in fem. plural, first and second person respectively ahəm¹ and ahəth¹.

In the present tense of the Verb Substantive, there is a negative verb, the corresponding forms of which occur neither in Bhad. nor in Khaś., and the origin of which is obscure. Perhaps it is related to the root in Kashmīrī chuh 'he is'.

Negative Verb Substantive, present tense— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'neççi	'neççim
2. 'neççis	'neççirh
3. 'neççi	'neççin

The above forms are the same for m. and f. ; in neuter third person we have— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
neçç	'neççim or neçç

Now compare parallel forms in Bhad. and Khaś.— :

Bhad.		Khaś.	
<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. neî	neî	nΔîesã	nΔîesũ
2. neî	neî	nΔîesu	nΔîesũ
3. neî	neî	nΔîese	nΔîesũ

Paradigms

Present Tense : 'bhoᅇu ' to become '

Masculine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'bhõtu (or 'bhotu)	bhõtəm
2. 'bhõtus (North ending -o only)	'bhõte
3. 'bhõto	'bhõte

Neuter third person singular 'bhõtu, plural 'bhõtã

Feminine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	
	South	North
1. 'bhõtɪ (North ending -iã)	'bhũtim	'bhutiəm
2. 'bhõtɪs (North ending -ɪ)	'bhũti	'bhuti
3. 'bhõtɪ	'bhũti	'bhuti

'khaᅇu ' to eat '

Masculine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'khãtu	khãtəm
2. 'khãtus (North ending -o only)	'khãte
3. 'khãto	'khãte

Neuter third person— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
'khãtu	'khãtã

Feminine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'khātɪ (North ending -iā)	'khātɪm (south), 'khātiəm
2. 'khātɪs (North ending -ɪ only)	'khāti
3. 'khātɪ	'khāti

'ε·ṇu 'to come'

Masculine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'ē·tu	ē·təm
2. 'ē·tus (North ending -o only)	'ē·te
3. 'ē·to	'ē·te

Neuter third person— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
'ē·tu	'ē·tā

Feminine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	
	South	North
1. 'ē·tɪ (North ending -iā)	'ē·tɪm	'itɪm
2. 'ē·tɪs (North ending -ɪ only)	'ē·tɪ	'itɪ
3. 'ē·tɪ	'ē·tɪ	'itɪ

'gahəṇu 'to go'

Masculine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'gāhētɪ	gāhətəm
2. 'gāhētɪs (North ending -o only)	'gāhēte
3. 'gāhēto	'gāhēte

Neuter third person— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
'gāhētɪ	'gāhētā

Feminine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'gāhētɪ (North ending -iā)	'gāhētɪm (South), 'gāhētiəm (North)
2. 'gāhētɪs (North ending -ɪ only)	'gāhēti
3. 'gāhētɪ	'gāhēti

'kuṭṇu 'to beat'

Masculine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'kuṭtu	kuṭtəm
2. 'kuṭtus (North ending -o only)	'kuṭte
3. 'kuṭto	'kuṭte

Neuter third person— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
'kuṭtu	'kuṭtā

Feminine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'kuṭṭi (N. 'kuṭṭiā)	'kuṭṭim, 'kuṭṭimɪ
2. 'kuṭṭis (N. 'kuṭṭisɪ)	'kuṭṭi
3. 'kuṭṭi	'kuṭṭi

Present Continuous : 'bhoṇu 'to become'

Masculine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'bhōto-āhā	'bhōte-ahəm
2. 'bhōto-əs	'bhōte-ahəth
3. 'bhōto-'ahe	'bhōte-ahən

Neuter third person— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
'bhōtu-ahē	'bhōtā ahən

Feminine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'bhōṭi āhā	'bhūti ahim
2. 'bhōṭi ahəs	'bhūti ahɪth
3. 'bhōṭi ahe	'bhūti ahmɪ

Habitual Present : 'khaṇu 'to eat' ('I keep always eating')

There are two current forms— :

(1) More prevalent form.

Masculine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'khāto 'bhōtu	'khāte bhōtəm
2. 'khāto 'bhōto	'khāte 'bhōte
3. 'khāto 'bhōto	'khāte 'bhōte

Neuter third person— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
'khātu 'bhōtu	'khātā 'bhōtā

Feminine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'khāti 'bhōtiā	'khāti bhūtīm
2. 'khāti 'bhōti	'khāti 'bhūti
3. 'khāti 'bhōti	'khāti 'bhūti

(2) Less prevalent form.

Masculine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'khāto 'rēhītu	'khāte 'rēhētəm
2. 'khāto 'rēhīto	khāte 'rēhēte
3. 'khāto rēhīto	'khāte 'rēhēte

Neuter third person— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
'khātu 'rēhītu	'khātā 'rēhītā

Feminine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
'khāti 'rēhētiā	'khāti rīhītīm
'khāti 'rēhēti	'khāti 'rīhīti
'khāti 'rēhēti	'khāti 'rīhīti

Subjunctive : 'bhoṇu 'to be'

All genders— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. bhuā	bhom
2. bhos	bho'əth
3. bho	bhon

The terminations of the subjunctive in Bhal. and Bhad. are about the same, except that in the first person singular Bhad. has i, after a ei, Bhal. a throughout. Cf.— :

'khaṇu 'to eat'

Bhal.		Bhad.	
<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. khā	kham	khēi	kham
2. khas	khath	khas	khas
3. kha	khan	khæ	than

'bɪfnu ' to sit '

Bhal.		Bhad.	
<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'bɪffā	bɪffəm	'bɪffi	bɪffəm
2. 'bɪffɪs	bɪffəth	bɪffəs	bɪffəth
3. 'bɪffɛ	bɪffən	'bɪffe	bɪffən

Subjunctive fem. sg. has the same forms as those of masculine singular, but in plural we have— :

1. kha:°m¹
2. kha:°th¹
3. kha:°n¹
1. 'bɪffɪm¹
2. 'bɪffɪth¹
3. 'bɪffɪn¹

When the present tense of a verb is to be indicated in the negative sense, the subjunctive, and not the present tense, is used— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. Δũ nə khã ' I do not eat '	Δə nə kham
2. tu nə khas	tus nə khath
3. tɛ nə kha	'tɛnã nə khan

Future Tense : 'bhoŋu ' to be '

Masculine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. bhon ^u	'bhomɛl
2. bhol ^u	bhol
3. bhol ^u	bhon

Neuter third person— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
bhol ^u	bhon

Feminine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. bhon¹	'bhomɛl¹ or bhɸn¹
2. bhol¹	bhun¹ or bhol¹
3. bhol¹	bhun¹ or bhol¹

In the future tense, the final vowel in Bhal. is either not heard at all, or it is too delicate for the ear. In Bhad. it is a regular o in singular, e in plural, while in Khaś. it is a in singular, e in plural. Cf. the three dialects— :

	Bhal.		Bhad.		Khaś.	
	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
1.	bhon ^u	'bhomɛl	'bhɔilo	'bhome	'bhônã	bhônē
2.	bhol ^u	bhol	'bholo	'bhole	bhōla	bhōle
3.	bhol ^u	bhon	'bholo	'bhole	bhōla	bhōle

'khaṇu ' to eat '

Masculine—:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1.	khan ^u	'khamɛl
2.	khal ^u	khal
3.	khal ^u	khan

Neuter third person—:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
	khal ^u	khan

Feminine—:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1.	khan ⁱ	'khamɛl ⁱ
2.	khal ⁱ	khan ⁱ or khal ⁱ
3.	khal ⁱ	khan ⁱ or khal ⁱ

'piṇu ' to drink '

Masculine—:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1.	piən ^u	'pimɛl
2.	'pi:əl ^u	'pi:əl
3.	'pi:əl ^u	pi:ən

Neuter third person—:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
	'pi:əlu	pi:ən

Feminine—:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1.	'pi:ən ⁱ	'pimɪl
2.	pi'ɛl ⁱ	'piɛl ⁱ
3.	pi'ɛl ⁱ	'piɛl ⁱ

'ɛṇu ' to come '

Masculine—:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1.	ɛṇ ^u	'eimɛl
2.	ɛijəl ^u	ɛijəl
3.	ɛijəl ^u	ɛijən

Neuter third person— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
ɛijəl ^u	ɛijən

Feminine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. ɛ·nɪ	'emɪl
2. ɛijəl ^ɪ	ɛijəl ^ɪ
3. ɛɪjəl ^ɪ	ɛijən ^ɪ

'kuṭṭu 'to beat'

Masculine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. kuṭṭun	'kuṭmɛl
2. kuṭṭêl ^u	'kuṭṭɛl
3. kuṭṭêl ^u	'kuṭṭɛl

Neuter third person— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
'kuṭṭêl ^u	'kuṭṭɛl

Feminine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'kuṭṭɛn ^ɪ	'kuṭmɛl ^ɪ
2. 'kuṭṭɛl ^ɪ	kuṭṭêl ^ɪ
3. 'kuṭṭɛl ^ɪ	kuṭṭêl ^ɪ

PAST INDEFINITE TENSE

The past indefinite tense is indicated by the past participle. The formation of the past participle of verbs ending in consonants is simple, o being added to the root for masculine, u or ũ for neuter, ɪ for feminine— :

	<i>Singular</i>			<i>Plural</i>		
	<i>m.</i>	<i>n.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>n.</i>	<i>f.</i>
'biṣnu 'to sit'.	'biṣso	'biṣsu	'biṣṣɪ	'biṣse	'biṣṣã	'biṣṣi
'laṛnu 'to fight'.	'laṛo	'laṛu	'laṛɪ	'laṛe	'laṛã	'leṛi
'maṛnu 'to die'.	'maṛo	'maṛu	'maṛɪ	'maṛe	'maṛã	'meṛi

When the verb ends in a vowel, however, many vowel changes occur, e.g.— :

	<i>Singular</i>			<i>Plural</i>		
	<i>m.</i>	<i>n.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>n.</i>	<i>f.</i>
'gahəṇu 'to go'.	geu	geũ	geɪ	gee	giã	gei
'khãṇu 'to eat'.	khau	khaũ	khɪ	kha	khã	khêi
'ziṇu 'to live'.	zio•	ziũ	zi	zie	ziã	zi :
'karnu 'to do'.	kio	kiũ	ki	kie	kiã	ki :
'dhuṇu 'to sweep'.	'dhuhɔu	'dhuhũ	dhuɪ	'dhuho	'dhuhã	dhui
'əṇu 'to come'.	au	aũ	ai	a	ã	ei or ai
'deṇu 'to give'.	'dɪto	'dɪtu	'dɪtɪ	'dɪte	'dɪtã	'dɪti
'neṇu 'to take away'.	nio	neũ	nei	nee	niã	nei
'bhoṇu 'to be'.	bho	bhoũ	bhoɪ	bhue	bhuã	bhui
'zoṇu 'to speak'.	'zuɔu	zɔũ	zɔɪ	zuo	zũɔ	zɔi

Conjugation of the past indefinite tense: 'bhoṇu 'to be'

Masculine— :

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1.	thio	thie
2.	thio	thie
3.	thio	thie

Neuter third person— :

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
	thẽũ	thiã

Feminine— :

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1.	thɪ	thi
2.	thɪ	thi
3.	thɪ	thi

It will be evident from above that this 'tense' does not indicate specifically a person, but only gender and number. This 'tense' is really a participle pure and simple.

THE PERFECT PARTICIPLE

The perfect participle, which occurs in Bhal., Bhad. and Khaś., does not occur independently. It always requires an auxiliary, and is used to form the present, the past and the future PERFECT tenses. Thus for 'he had come' we have in—

<i>Bhal.</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>	<i>Khaś.</i>
bhə'əu thio	bhu'oro thio	'bhura thia

A characteristic feature of Bhal. perfect participle is the elision of the intervocalic r which we find in Bhad. and Khaś., and the subsequent vocalic changes. Note the perfect participles of the following verbs—:

	<i>Singular</i>			<i>Plural</i>	
	<i>m.</i>	<i>n.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>m.n.</i>	<i>f.</i>
'gahəṇu 'to go'.	gə'wəu	gə'wəũ	gu'wə'ɪ	gə'wo	gə'wɸi
'khaṇu 'to eat'.	'khaɽwəu	'khaɽwəũ	'khaɽwəɪ	khəu'wo	khəu'wɸi
'ziṇu 'to live'.	zi'əu	zi'əũ	zi'ə'ɪ	zi'o	zi'ɸi
'karnu 'to do'.	ki'oəu	ki'oəũ	ki'o'ɪ	ki'o	ki'ɸi
'eṇu 'to come'.	ɽu'wəu	ɽu'wəũ	ɽu'wə'ɪ	ɽu'wo	ɽu'wɸi
'deṇu 'to give'.	di'təu	di'təũ	di'tə'ɪ	di'to	di'tɸi
'neṇu 'to carry away'.	ni'əu	ni'əũ	ni'ə'ɪ	ni'o	ni'ɸi
'peṇu 'to lie'.	pe'wəu	pe'wəũ	pe'wə'ɪ	pe'wo	pe'wɸi
'bhoṇu 'to be'.	bhə'əu	bhu'oũ	bhu'ə'ɛi	bhu'o	bhu'ɸi
'zoṇu 'to speak'.	'zəuəu	zəuəũ	'zəuwəɪ	zəu'wo	zəu'wɸi

PRESENT PERFECT

'bhoṇu 'to be or become'

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. bhə'əu hã	bhə'əu ahəm
2. bhə'əu həs	bhə'əu ahəth
3. bhə'əu ahe	bhə'əu ahən

PRESENT PERFECT (NEGATIVE)

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. nəḥḥbhə'əu	nəḥḥbhu'o
2. nəḥḥbhə'əu	nəḥḥbhu'o
3. nəḥḥbhə'əu	nəḥḥbhu'o

PAST PERFECT

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. bhə'ou thio	bhə'ou thie
2. bhə'ou thio	bhə'ou thie
3. bhə'ou thio	bhə'ou thie

FUTURE PERFECT

'puʒnu 'to reach'

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. 'puʒzi gɛ'wəu bhon ^u	'puʒzi gɛuo 'bhomɛl
2. 'puʒzi gɛ'wəu bhol ^u	'puʒzi gɛuo bhol
3. 'puʒzi gɛ'wəu bhol ^u	'puʒzi gɛuo bhon

PRESENT PARTICIPLE

It is formed by the addition of to (m.), tu (n.) and tɪ (f.) to the verb, and is kept in the conjugation of the present tense. Verbs ending in vowels generally nasalize the vowel before the t, e.g.—:

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Present Participle</i>		
	m.	n.	f.
'khaŋu 'to eat'	'khãto	'khãtu	'khãtɪ
'dhuŋu 'to sweep'	'dhũto	'dhũtu	'dhũtɪ
'kuŋu 'to beat'	'kuɽto	'kuɽtu	'kuɽtɪ

CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE

The Conjunctive participle in the Southern dialect is formed by the addition of -ita to the verb, the final vowel of which undergoes some changes. No such -ita is added in the Northern dialect, where in some forms nothing is added, in others a is add. Cf. the Conjunctive participles of the following verbs—:

<i>Verb</i>	<i>(Bhal.) South</i>	<i>(Bhal.) North</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>	<i>Khaś.</i>
'khaŋu 'to eat'.	'kheita	'kheija	'kheitã	'khaïta
'gahəŋu 'to go'.	'gehita	geh	geitã	(gâɛɛhita)
'bhoŋu 'to be'.	'bhuita	'bhuija	'bhɸitã	'bhoïta
'karnu 'to do'.	'kɛrita	'kɛri	'kɛrtã	'gɛrita
'laŋu 'to fight'.	'leɽita	'leɽija	'leɽtã	'laɽita
'biŋu 'to sit'.	'biŋita	'biŋi	'biŋtã	'biŋita

IMPERATIVE

Imperative is of two kinds, present and future. This distinction between the two kinds of the Imperative is maintained in Bhal., Bhad. and Khaś. Cf.— :

Verb	<i>Present Imperative</i>			<i>Future Imperative</i>		
	<i>Bhal.</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>	<i>Khaś.</i>	<i>Bhal.</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>	<i>Khaś.</i>
'khaṇu 'to eat'	} Sg. khâ Pl. kha:əth	khâ khath	khâh khaə	'kheija kheijəth	'kheijã kheijəth	'kheijã 'kheija
'eṇu 'to come'	} Sg. ei Pl. 'eija	ei 'eja	ɛi 'eəha	'eija eijəth	'eja ejjəth	'eəhiã 'eəhia
kuṭṇu 'to beat'	} Sg. kuṭṭ Pl. 'kuṭṭa	kuṭṭ 'kuṭṭa	kuṭṭ kuṭṭa	'kuṭṭia 'kuṭṭiəth	'kuṭṭa kyṭṭəth	'kuṭṭã 'kuṭṭa

CAUSATIVE

The Causative is an interesting feature of the dialect. Causatives are of two kinds : (1) Causatives which are transitives modified from intransitives, (2) Causatives proper, which may be called mediate Causatives, which signify that a person makes another person do an act through the medium of a third person. If the idea of a third person is not implied, then the Causative proper is not used, but only the Causative of the transitive form is used— :

- (1) 'biṣṇu 'to sit'.
 'bi'ṣaṇnu 'to seat' (Transitive).
 biṣ'waṇnu 'to seat a person, through a third person' (Causative proper).
- (2) 'zoṇu 'to speak'.
 zəu'aṇu 'to make a person speak' (Transitive).
 zu'əoṇu } 'to make a person speak, through a third
 or zuwəu'waṇu } person' (Causative proper).
- (3) 'zhulnu 'to sleep'.
 zhu'laṇu 'to make one sleep' (Transitive).
 zhul'waṇu 'to make a person sleep, through the medium of a
 third person' (Causative proper).
- (4) 'ziṇu 'to live'.
 zi'aṇu 'to revive' (Transitive).
 ziu'waṇu 'to revive a person, through the medium of a third
 person' (Causative proper).
- (5) 'piṇu 'to drink'.
 pi'aṇu 'to make one drink' (Transitive).
 pjoəu'waṇu 'to make a person drink, through the medium of a
 third person' (Causative proper).
- (6) 'ruṣṇu 'to be angry'.
 ru'ṣaṇnu 'to make one angry' (Transitive).
 ruṣ'waṇu 'to make a person angry, through the medium of a
 third person'.

DENOMINATIVES

There are two forms of Denominatives—Intransitive and Transitive. Cf.—:

<i>Adjective</i>	<i>Intransitive Denominative</i>	<i>Transitive Denominative</i>
'bāro 'great'	bēri'oṇu 'to be great'	bā'ṛeṇu 'to make great'
bôḍḍo 'old'	bud'dhjoṇu 'to be old'	bud'dheṇu 'to make old'
'lāmmo 'tall'	lēm'mjoṇu 'to be tall'	lām'meṇu 'to make tall'
'ūco 'high'	ū'ejoṇu 'to be high'	ū'ceṇu 'to make high'
'billo 'wide'	bil'ljoṇu 'to be wide'	bil'leṇu 'to make wide'
'rullo 'good'	rul'ljoṇu 'to be good'	rul'ljeṇu 'to make good'

PASSIVE VOICE

The Passive voice has two forms: (1) The past participle is used in the passive sense. Thus 'tēni āṁ 'maro 'I was beaten by him'. In Hindi the corresponding pronoun used is not māī 'I', but mujhe 'to me', the sense of the participle mārā being felt as active. But in Bhal. the nominate case āṁ 'I' is used in this sentence. Similarly 'tēni ram 'maro 'by him Rāma was beaten', the nominative case ram is used, 'maro being sensed as a passive. This form of passive, however, is used only in the past tense.

(2) The second kind of the passive is the passive proper, which is regularly conjugated. But its sense is *involuntary*, the agent having absolutely no power over the event which has happened, e.g. 'mēra hēs'sjoṁ, lit. 'it was (involuntarily) laughed from me', i.e. 'I laughed involuntarily'. The case used here is the ablative, not instrumental. This is one way in which the involuntary sense is indicated. Another way in which this involuntary sense is indicated is by the use of the agent case, but even there the helplessness of the agent is really implied. This particular sense is indicated either by the use of the negative, e.g. mēī nā gēi'jhoṁ, lit. 'it could not be gone by me', i.e. 'I could not go' or by the interrogative potential, the reply to which is a negative, e.g. 'tēra āṁ khēi'jōtu 'can I be eaten by (lit. from) you?', the reply understood being 'no'.

STRUCTURE OF THE PASSIVE

The passive proper in Bhal. is constructed by the addition of io, with the necessary vowel changes. Cf. with the parallel Khaś. forms—:

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Bhal.</i>	<i>Khaś.</i>
'bhoṇu 'to be'	bhōi'joṇu	bhoījēṇu
'piṇu 'to drink'	pi'joṇu	pieṇu
'zoṇu 'to speak'	zōi'joṇu	(bollēṇu)

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Passive</i>	
	<i>Bhal.</i>	<i>Khaś.</i>
'laṛnu 'to fight'	leṛi'oṇu	leṛejṇu
'eṇu 'to come'	ei'oṇu	eṣhejṇu
'peṇu 'to lie'	peṛi'oṇu	peṛijejṇu
'gāhāṇu 'to go'	geṛi'hoṇu	geṣhejṇu
'kaṛnu 'to do'	keṛi'oṇu	geṛejṇu
'biṣṇu 'to sit'	bisṣi'oṇu	bisṣejṇu
'neṇu 'to carry away'	neṛi'oṇu	neṛijejṇu

CONJUGATION OF THE PASSIVE

Present Tense : 'bhoṇu 'to be'. Passive bhḥi'joṇu.

Masculine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. (te'zoṇeΔũṣor) bhḥi'jōtu 'can I be a thief on your saying?'	bhḥi'jōtəm
2. bhḥi'jōtus	bhḥi'jōte
3. bhḥi'jōto	bhḥi'jōte

Neuter third person— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
bhḥi'jōtu	bhḥi'jōtā

Feminine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. bhḥi'jōti	bhḥi'jōtim
2. bhḥi'jōtis	bhḥi'jōti
3. bhḥi'jōti	bhḥi'jōti

PASSIVE FUTURE

Masculine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. bhḥi'jon ^u	bhḥi'jomḥl
2. bhḥi'jol ^u	bhḥi'jol
3. bhḥi'jol ^u	bhḥi'jon

Neuter third person— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
bhḥi'jol ^u	bhḥi'jon

Feminine— :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. bhφi'jon ¹	bhφi'jomɪ ¹
2. bhφi'jol ¹	bhφi'jol ¹
3. bhφi'jol ¹	bhφi'jon ¹

PAST TENSE (PASSIVE)

The past tense of the passive is formed by the past passive (involuntary) participle, e.g.

mēi pu'laɔ nə khēi'jəu (m.)	'the <i>Pulao</i> could not be eaten by me'.
mēi ghiu nə khēi'joũ (n.)	' <i>ghee</i> could not be eaten by me'.
mēi dəvai nə khēi'jəɪ (f.)	'medicine could not be taken by me'.

But much more commonly the passive past tense is expressed by the impersonal passive participle. This participle is always in the neuter gender, and the case used generally in connection therewith is the ablative if positive sense is implied, and the agent case if the negative is implied. Thus 'mɛ:ra hɛs'sjoũ, lit. 'it was laughed (involuntarily) from me', i.e. 'I laughed involuntarily', but mēi nə hɛs'sjoũ, lit. 'by me was not laughed', i.e. 'I could not laugh'. The following is a list of some past passive participles used impersonally— :

<i>Participle (impersonal)</i>	<i>Verb</i>
hɛs'sjoũ	'hʌsɳu 'to laugh'
ʒhul'ljoũ	'ʒhulɳu 'to sleep'
gɛi'jhoũ	'gahəɳu 'to go'
ɛi'joũ	'ɛɳu 'to come'
zφi'joũ	'zoɳu 'to speak'
pɛi'joũ	'pɛɳu 'to lie'
zi'joũ	'ziɳu 'to live'
lɛri'joũ	'lʌɳu 'to fight'
dɛi'joũ	'dɛɳu 'to give'
bɪʃ'ʃjoũ	'bɪʃɳu 'to sit'
kɛr'joũ	'kʌɳu 'to do'

PASSIVE OF DENOMINATIVES

To convert Denominatives into Passive io, as usual, is added to the Denominative verb. Cf.— :

<i>(Non-Passive) Denominative</i>	<i>Passive Denominative</i>
bʌ'ɾɛɳu 'to make great'	bʌɾɛi'oɳu
bud'dhɛɳu 'to make old'	budɸdɛi'oɳu
lʌm'mɛɳu 'to make tall'	lʌmmɛi'oɳu
ũ'cɛɳu 'to make high'	ũcɛi'oɳu
bɪ'lɛɳu 'to make wide'	bɪllɛi'oɳu

PASSIVE OF CAUSATIVES

Causatives in the transitive sense are changed into passive by the addition of *io*, with the necessary vowel changes. Cf.— :

Non-Passive Causative

pi'aṇu 'to make one drink'
 khəlaṇu 'to make one eat'
 ru'ʃaṇnu 'to make one angry'
 bi'ʃaṇnu 'to seat'
 zɪ'aṇu 'to revive'

Passive Causative

piɛi'joṇu
 khəleḷi'joṇu
 ru'ʃaṇi'oṇu
 bi'ʃaṇi'oṇu
 zɪɛi'joṇu

ADVERBS

The Bhalesī dialect is rich in adverbs. Most of the adverbs are formed from pronouns. The structure of some of these adverbs have already been explained under word-building. The following is a list of some of these adverbs— :

- əkhiri 'at last'.
 ʌggər 'further ahead'.
 'ʌgri 'first, at first'.
 'appu 'by oneself, voluntarily'.
 zətalia 'at every time'.
 'zəkħuria 'just as'.
 'zərħā 'whichever way'.
 'zərɪ 'where'.
 'zətəṇiā 'when'.
 'zhʌzɛa 'in the morning'.
 'ekħuria 'in this way'.
 'eglie 'last year'.
 ɛɪɪ 'here'.
 'ɛtrumʌz 'in the meanwhile'.
 'ɛtṭhi 'here'.
 'ɛtṭhi 'just here' (emphatic).
 'hori 'subsequently to the next'. 'hori'budhe 'Wednesday week'.
 'huṇia 'now'.
 r'rhā 'to this side'.
 ɪɪ'e-lɛi 'for this reason'.
 ɪs'dh̄lʌkħiɛ 'on this side'.
 ihiriɛ 'in this way'.
 ghʌ'riɔ 'ghɛɪɛ 'at every time'.
 'kekhoi 'how?'.
 'kɛhu 'how?'.
 'kɛɪsa 'when?'.
 'kɛɪsa-'kɛɪsa 'sometimes'.
 kɪ'təṇiā 'at what time?'.
 kōɪɪ 'where?'

- 'kərkhi ' somewhere ' .
 kə'rizi ' whither ? ' .
 'kokhuria ' in what way ? ' .
 'kuzi ' why ? ' .
 'kuzu (North) ' why ? ' .
 'kurhā ' whither ? ' .
 'mukkiē ' with blows ' .
 'mulare ' thoroughly ' .
 ni'rēgliē ' the year after the next year ' .
 ôhou ' in that manner ' .
 'okhuria ' in that manner ' .
 pære ' day before yesterday ' .
 pərhal ' the year before the last ' . P. pərər.
 pattər ' behind ' .
 'patte ' behind ' .
 'parī'bate ' by the yonder way ' .
 'peru ' last year ' .
 'pəuke ' in or to a woman's paternal home ' .
 'sannā ' in the evening ' .
 fâhure ' in or to the father-in-law's house ' .
 'təkhuria ' in the same way ' .
 'tərhā ' thither ' .
 'təri ' there ' .
 tət'aniā ' just at that time ' .
 tət'talia ' at that very time ' .
 u'dhoria ' to that side, thither ' .
 'uṇḍe ' down ' .
 'urhā ' thither ' .

NUMERALS

The following is a list of the cardinal numbers— :

1. ək̄k	15. 'parne	29. u'nətri
2. du	16. 'ʃɸr̄e	30. t̄l̄i
3. t̄l̄a	17. sətare	31. 'ek̄ettri
4. əɸr	18. əṭhare	32. 'bəttri
5. paŋə	19. 'unni	33. 'tettri
6. ʃâ	20. bî	34. əɸtri
7. satt	21. r'k̄ei	35. pēntri
8. aṭṭh	22. bēi	36. 'chatri
9. nao	23. t̄l̄ebbi	37. sət̄ettri
10. daf	24. 'əɸbbi	38. əṭh̄ettri
11. 'jare	25. 'paŋə̄ei	39. un'tali
12. 'bare	26. 'ʃebbi	40. 'əali
13. 'tere	27. 'satt̄ei	41. ək̄'tali
14. 'əudde	28. 'aṭṭh̄ei	42. bī'tali

43. tir'tali	54. cu'ranza	65. pēhəṭh
44. ɔur'tali	55. pɔcu'anza	66. chi'ahəṭh
45. pɔnz'tali	56. chi'vanza	67. sətahəṭh
46. chi'tali	57. sə'tunza	68. əṭhahəṭh
47. sat'tali	58. ə'thunza	The rest the same
48. ɔṭh'tali	59. un'haṭh	as in Pañjābī,
49. u'nunza	60. ʃɔṭh	except
50. pɔnzâ	61. i'kahəṭh	80. 'ɔʃʃi
51. i'kunza	62. bahəṭh	90. 'nɔbbe
52. bi'unza	63. trəhəṭh	100. ʃɔu
53. tri'unza	64. ɔ'huhṭh	

THE ORDINAL NUMBERS

The ordinal numbers are formed by the addition of the suffix -ɔũ or sometimes -hɔũ to denote the m. or n., -ɛĩ or sometimes -hɛĩ to denote the f.— :

1st. pēlo, pēlu, pēli	20th. 'biɦɔũ, bi'hɛĩ
2nd. 'duɔũ, 'duɛĩ	30th. 'ṭliɦɔũ, ṭlihɛĩ
3rd. 'ṭṭɛiɦɔũ, 'ṭṭɛiɛĩ	40th. ɔal'jhɦɔũ, ɔal'jhɛĩ
4th. 'ɔpɦɦɔũ, 'ɔpɦɦɛĩ	50th. 'pɔnzɦɦɔũ, 'pɔnzɦɦɛĩ
5th. 'pɔnɦɦɔũ, 'pɔnɦɦɛĩ	60th. 'ʃɔṭɦɦɔũ, 'ʃɔṭɦɦɛĩ
6th. 'ʃɛiɦɔũ, 'ʃɛiɛĩ	70th. 'sɔṭɦɦɔũ, 'sɔṭɦɦɛĩ
7th. 'sɔṭɦɦɔũ, 'sɔṭɦɦɛĩ	80th. 'ɔʃʃiɦɔũ, 'ɔʃʃiɛĩ
8th. 'ɔṭɦɦɔũ, 'ɔṭɦɦɛĩ	90th. 'nɔbbɦɦɔũ, 'nɔbbɦɦɛĩ
9th. 'nɔuɦɦɔũ, 'nɔuɦɦɛĩ	100th. 'ʃɔuɦɦɔũ, 'ʃɔuɦɦɛĩ
10th. 'dɔʃʃɦɦɔũ, 'dɔʃʃɦɦɛĩ	
11th. 'jarɦɦɔũ, jarɦɦɛĩ	

INTERJECTIONS

The following Interjections may be noted— :

- 'bɦɦɔ 'Oh wonder'.
 be 'O man!' used by women only, in addressing men, cf. L.P. ve.
 dhe 'O girl!' perhaps related to P. tiɟ 'daughter'.
 ke Used by a woman in addressing another woman. 'O woman!',
 e.g. 'marke 'O woman, die', lit. 'die, O!'
 kɛ Used in addressing one's own wife. 'O my wife!'

VOCABULARIES

The following selected vocabularies may throw some light on the relation of Bhalesī with other Indo-Aryan dialects— :

'ɔḍɦɦɔ or 'ɔḍɦɦɔ 'support'. Pk. ɔḍɦɦɔ 'athwart'.

ɦɦɔ 'nest'. P. ɦɦɔ. Bhal. here seems to have preserved the original vowel.

'ɔɦɦɦɔ 'thumb'.

'arṁi } 'anvil', cf. S. *aharṇi*, with fem. ending, as contrasted with
or 'arḥṁi } N. āran, K. 'iran, P. āhraṇ.

bəbani 'step-mother', P.L. 'bebe 'mother'.

'banṇu } 'to be saved', N. bācnu 'to be saved', B. bācā 'to
bāṇṇu } escape'.

bāṭh 'barren'. Under N. bājho, Turner cites Skr. *vanṭah* 'tail-
less', lex. *vanṭah* 'crippled'. Here is an actual dialectical
occurrence of the Sanskrit correspondent.

—bē postposition: 'above'. Does it correspond to Pk. *bāhi*
'outside'? Phonetically, it may correspond, but the
meaning is rather remote.

'beḡṇ 'clothes'. Probably connected with Skr. *veṣṭayesti*, K.
wurun 'to wrap up', H. berhnā, N. bernu.

'beḡik 'the seat for bride and bridegroom in the marriage cere-
mony', P. 'beṭhak 'sitting-room'.

bi'unṣa 'the number 52'. It is perhaps a unique form available in
Indo-Aryan, being nearer Skr. *dvipancāśat*. Other Indo-Aryan
forms seem to be related to Skr. *dvāpañcāśat*, cf. N. *bāunna*, H.
bāwan, P. bəvāṅṣa, B. *bāyānna*.

'biḡṇu 'to wake up', probably related to Skr. *budhya-*, N.
biūjhanu.

'bubbi 'father's sister', D. Tor. *pabī*, H. *phūphū*, G. *phoī*, M. *phuī*,
K. *phōph*.

bukhər 'broom'. It is not known whether L.P. bu'hara or bəhara
'broom' is in any way related to it.

bheḡḡ 'lungs'. It is not certain whether this word has anything to
do with Skr. *bhastrā* 'bellows'.

'channi 'entreaty'. Perhaps related to Skr. *chanda-* 'wish'.

'ḡakhṇu 'to be angry'. Perhaps related to N. *cakhalo* 'interfering,
noisy'. O. *cagalā* 'unsettled'.

ḡāhək 'gout'. Perhaps related to L. *cāg* 'smarting pain'.

'ḡapṇu 'to chew'. Is it related to H. *cabānā*? Or, perhaps better,
to Pk. *cappai* 'presses', H. *cāpnā* 'to press'.

ḡaṭ 'a large pot to store ghee'. L.P. 'caṭi 'a large pot'.

'ḡeḡe 'with a slap'. N. *caṭkāunu* 'to give a slap to', M. *caṭkī* 'snap
with finger and thumb'.

'ḡikkṇu 'to press, to shampoo'. Doğrī 'ḡikkṇa 'to press, to
shampoo', N. *ciknu* 'to have sexual intercourse'.

'ḡiḡro 'in the eye, the larger circle enclosing the eye-ball proper'.
Pk. *cillaa-* 'shining', N. *cillo* 'polished', H. *cilaknā* 'to be
bright'.

'ḡiṇḡo-ḡiṇḡ 'scream', P. *ci'kara* 'noise', *cīcīkarnā* 'to cry', N.
cikārā 'fiddle'.

ḡippḡ 'resin of pine', Ku. *ciphlo* 'slippery', P. *ciplā* 'sticky', N.
ciḡyāunu 'to lubricate'.

εφuk lit. 'collection of four', being the part of the human body consisting of the following: (1) the front of the upper chest, (2) both the shoulders, and (3) back of the shoulders. Cf. L.P. 'caoka 'collection of four'.

chi'noṇu 'to cut', Skr. *chinna-* 'cut', Ku. *chinṇo* 'to cut'.

'chōṭi 'chin'. The corresponding Sanskrit word is not available. Skr. *cubukam* cannot be exactly parallel, nor N. *ciūro* offers the exact parallel. Yet the nasality and the retroflex consonants in both the Bhal. and N. words are striking.

'dallaṛi 'rib'. I do not know of a parallel word in any other Indo-Aryan language. It is perhaps connected with Skr. *dala-* 'fragment, piece', signifying the single ribs.

or 'dirṅgəṛi }
or di'rəṅgəṛi } 'threshold'. Curious words. No strong evidence for
or dreṅgəṛi } connection with Skr. *dehalī*, B.O. *dehurī*.

'dilṇu 'to pull, tug'. Perhaps an extension of the meaning of Skr. *dīryate*.

dhur 'dust', N. *dhulo*, B. *dula*.

zəmoi 'son-in-law', Kal. *jhamōu*, Kaf. *dam. zāmō*.

zāi 'husband's sister'. Origin doubtful. Ku. N. *joi* 'wife' does not seem to indicate any relation with the word.

'zamaṇi 'a yawn', K. *zāmun*, Dogrī *cəmajṇi*.

'zəṭṛi 'locks of hair', Skr. *jaṭā*.

'zəlṇu 'to endure, suffer'. With H. *jhīlnā*, *jhalnā*, the connection does not seem to be evident, for apart from the vowel ε, we have here the non-aspirate z and not zh.

zosəṇ 'moon', N. *jun*, pog. Kiś. *zosun*, pañ. *josan*.

'zudḍo 'a slow bullock'. Perhaps related to N. *juṛo* 'hard', 'hard to deal with'.

zhaz 'morning'. Perhaps remotely related to M. *jhag-jhag* 'brilliance', H. *jhamjhamānā* 'to glitter'.

zhak-muk 'a contrivance to generate fire' ('flint and cinder'), N. *jhakka-makka* 'shining, bright', M. *jak-mag* 'brilliance'.

'zhaṛu 'tail', N. *jhāru* 'brush', H. *jhārū* 'broom'.

zhell 'bush', N. *jhār* 'small bush', B. *jhār*, M. *jhād*.

'zhulṇu 'to sleep'. To trace a connection with other dialects is difficult. Cf. L. *ḡhu'taṇ* 'to nap', but L. ṭ is a difficulty. Also cf. N. *jhulāunu* 'to swing'.

'zhussnu 'to pound, grind', H. *jhasnā* 'to press'.

'dirgho 'foolish'. Origin uncertain. Perhaps going back to *ḍilgho, *ḍill being a lump of clay, cf. Bhal. *ḍell* 'lump of clay'.

ḍləbəjḡəṇi 'deṇi 'in washing clothes, to beat a garment with fists'. Origin uncertain. Perhaps going back to *ḍəbajḡəṇi, from 'ḍabṇu 'to press'.

- ḍuṅ'gar 'sheep'. Connection with other dialects difficult to trace. N. *duṅgur* 'heap or collection', Pk. *duṅgara-* 'mountain', H. *ḍūgar* 'hill'. Nor is the connection with L. 'dumba 'fat-tailed sheep' very apparent. For 'dumba is from the Persian word *dum*, 'tail' and we do not expect Persian connection with such pastoral words in Bhalesī.
- 'ḍhadi 'a hunter in the mountains'. Perhaps related to N. *ḍhāri* 'massive, fat', K. *ḍāḍa*, M. *ḍāḍhā* 'bold'.
- 'ḍheḱku 'name of a violent dance'. Possibly related to Skr. *ḍhakkā* 'a drum', which is used in this as well as in many other dances.
- 'ḍheḱru 'a large basket made of willow or allied wood, but plastered with mud'. It is used in storing grain. Cf. N. *ḍhakkī* 'a small basket for carrying fruit or flowers'.
- 'eḡjan 'a contrivance to produce fire' ('flint and cinder'). Probably connected with Δ gg 'fire'.
- 'gḍbrī 'female lamb'.
- 'gḍbrū 'a male lamb'. Cf. K. *gābr'roch* 'a shepherd', lit. 'sheep-protector'.
- gḍḍ 'rivulet', N. *gartīr* 'bank of a river', Sgh. *gaḍa* 'ditch', Pk. *gaḍḍa-* 'hole'.
- 'gḍanko 'asafaetida'. Is it possible to connect this word with Skr. *hiṅgu-*?
- gḍṇ 'the honey-bee'. Perhaps related to N. *ganāunu* 'to smell', B. *gādhī* 'a stinking insect', Sh. *gṇ* 'smell'.
- gḍph 'idle talk', N. *gaph* 'tittle-tattle', Ku. *gaph* 'absurd news', A.G.M. *gap*.
- gḍrī 'braid of hair', Skr. *grantha-*, P. *gḍṇḍ* 'a knot'.
- gḍḍ 'the lap'. A very difficult word for etymology. N.H.P. have *god*. The connection of *god* with Pk. *godḍa-* 'foot' (Turner, Dictionary of Nepali Language, sub-voce *god*) does not seem to be confirmed by the occurrence of *gād* in Bhalesī, for there is no correspondence of Bhal. *a* with *o* of other dialects. If the high-falling tone in *â* indicates the original form being *gādh*, this original form may give the sense of 'something to enter into': then this form may have been independent of *god*, and the resemblance a mere coincidence. But even this suggestion requires confirmation.
- gḍe lagṇu 'to embrace'. The etymological meaning here is obscure. It may go back to *'gale lagṇu, but the high-falling tone in *â* indicates *gāhe to be the original form. Even the *h* may show the original form to have been *gādhe, but this has to be confirmed.
- gḍo 'the central hole of a mill-stone'. The etymology is doubtful. From an original 'galo, [l] may have been dropped. This [l] may have corresponded to *r* in O. *gāra* 'hole', cf. Bhal. *gḍḍ* 'rivulet'. But it has to be confirmed.

- gudd 'ankle', K. *gōḍ*, Ku. *goro*, Pk. *goḍḍa*-
 'gullṇu } 'to roar, howl' (said of a bear or a tiger), 'the sound of
 gur-gur } water, wind or fire'. The vowel u here is a difficulty.
 But cf. L. *ghur-ghur* 'a howling sound'.
- gunḅh 'moustache'. A curious word. It is not known whether it
 is related to Skr. *guccha*- 'bunch', being a cluster of hair.
- 'guṭṭh^u 'the joint of any limb'. The appearance of the first u is a
 difficulty. It may have been the effect of the final u. The
 expected form was *gṇṭh- corresponding to Skr. *granthi*-.
- ghṇ 'hammer', N. *ghan.*, Ku. G.M. *ghan*.
- 'ghaṭṭi 'the railing of a cow-stall'. N. 'ghaṭṭa 'waterill', Ku. *ghaṭ*.
- 'ghaṭṭnu 'to cover, or close', as a vessel, box, etc. In Skr. Dhātu-
 pāṭha an optional meaning of *ghaṭ*- is to 'bind', but *ghaṭṭ*- means
 to 'shake' or 'move'. Perhaps H. *ghāt*- 'landing-place', which
 is a bar to a river, is related here. Cf. N. *ghāro* 'bar, rod', Skr.
ghatayati 'joins'.
- ghṭh 'habit'.
- ghṭh 'laṇi 'to form a habit'. Dialectical correspondence is not
 available. We have N.H.P.G. *ghaṭ* 'mind, thought'. But
 neither the form, nor the sense corresponds.
- 'gharo 'avalanche' in general, including snow, stones, etc. Probably
 connected with Skr. root *ghar*- 'to flow'. N. *ghāro* 'bar',
 though identical in form, does not seem to correspond here. But
 there is another 'gharo in Bhal., which is adjective. Its meaning
 is 'topsy-turvy'. This adjective may be a figurative after-
 thought derived from the idea of an avalanche.
- 'ghuggṇu 'to bark'. N. *ghukk* 'the sound of clearing the throat',
 N. *ghurghur* 'snarling'.
- 'helo 'very fertile', lit. 'with black clay'. L. *hel* 'manure'.
- hō:l 'heat'. Etymology difficult. N. *hul* 'tea flush'. Nor is *holi*,
 suggesting the burning in the *holi* festival, to be thought of here.
- 'hocho 'mean, low', N. *hoco*, Ku. *hocho*, P.L. *hoccha*.
- 'jṇnu 'to win'. Pa. *jināti*, K. *zēnun*, L. 'jṇṇ.
- juṭṭ 'a pair', N. *jote* 'twin'.
- juṭṭi 'shoe', cf. juṭṭ 'pair'.
- kācic 'a scream', N. *kaciṇal* 'wrangle', P. *cik* 'scream'.
- kaḷ'wehl 'midday, noon'. Etymology difficult. Perhaps related to
 *kaḷ 'rest', *velā* 'time'. H.P.N. *kal* 'repose'. But Skr. *vēla*
 should give Bhal. *bela.
- 'kauro 'unmarried'. Probably related to P. 'kuṛi 'a girl', and
 similar words formed in other dialects.
- kaḥruo 'firewood', Skr. *kāṣṭha*-, H. *kāth*.
- kīṛnu 'to uproot'. It is difficult to say whether the word is related
 to N. *kiṛnu* 'to gnash, grind', B. *kiṛ*, *giṛ*, 'grinding the teeth'.
- 'kurnu 'to bore, make a hole'. N. *kuri* 'hole', Skr. *kuṭa*- 'house'.

khâlîr 'bellows', K. *khal* 'hide', N. *khālo* 'skin', N. *khalāti* 'bellows'.

khəŋɔŋu 'to prepare the partition of hair', Skr. *khaṇḍa-*.

khəŋkh 'cough', P. khâŋg, L. khâg.

'khinūs 'ball' to play, P. *khēnu*.

'khəptə 'the cover of the ear of maize', N. *khopro* 'hut', G. *khoptū*.

last 'name of a violent dance'. The connection with Skr. *lāsya-*, which is a graceful dance, does not seem to be very probable here.

'leŋo 'mud-plaster rubbed on the floor or wall of a house'.

Etymology obscure. Connection with N.H.P. *lep*, L. *lembi* 'mud-plaster', does not seem to be possible.

'lothri 'a goat with very small ears'. It is not clear whether this word has any connection with N. *lothre*, *lothro*, 'slack'.

'maɛɛŋu 'to level a cultivated ground'. Skr. Dhātu-pāṭha *mañcati* 'shines', *mañca-* 'platform', G. *mañcārvū* 'to make'.

'maɔŋu 'to thresh', N. *mārnu* 'to tread out grain', *māɔnu* 'to knead'.

'maɔgŋu 'to beg', Pa. *maggati*, N. *māgnu*, Ku. *māiŋo*.

maɔthu 'boy', N. *mātho* 'slow', Skr. *mṛṣṭa-* 'polished'.

'meɔtu 'back part of the neck', N. 'maŋto 'neck', Khaś. *məŋɔri* 'back part of the neck'.

'milŋu 'to wink the eyes'. Etymology obscure. N. *milkinu* 'to fall down' does not correspond here in meaning.

mɔthu 'churning-stick'. The vowel ϕ here may be the effect of epenthesis.

muɔ 'rat'. N. Ku. *muso*.

'naɔgo 'naked', B.O.H. *nāgā*, N. *nāgo*.

nāi 'navel', A.B. *nāi*, N. *nāito*.

neɛɛ } 'is not'. Negative verb. Etymology obscure. Perhaps
or neɛɛh } related to Kashmirī *chuh* 'he is'.

ni'har 'mist', Skr. *nīhāra-*.

'o'ɔhar 'trickling', Skr. *kṣar-*.

o'zhuŋt 'stumbling', H. *jhōṭ* 'swinging', N. *jhunḍinu* 'to hang'.

paɔ or paɔl 'any slab of stone', cf. Ḍogrī *pleŋ* 'to sharpen' (originally on a grindstone).

pəɔl 'straw of barley or paddy', Skr. *patala-* 'straw'.

'paɔrā 'grey hair', Skr. *palita-*, N. *pahēlo*.

'paɔrne 'fifteen', B. *panera*, H. *pandrah*, K. *pandāh*.

pəɔllo 'testicle', P. *pihlā* 'testicle', Skr. *plīhā* 'spleen'.

pəɔti'oŋu 'to conciliate an angry person', N. *patyāunu* 'to believe', O. *patiāra* 'trust', G. *patiyār*.

'pəɔri 'the place for setting one's feet in the beam of the pedal for husking grain'. H.P. *pair* 'foot', M. *ped* 'table-ground, hillock'.

'poŋi 'flake of cotton for spinning at the spinning-wheel'. P.L. 'puŋi.

ph Δ t
or ph Δ t \ddot{t} } 'a rock or large stone'. Etymology obscure. N. *phāt*
'breaking', A.B. *phāt* 'crack' do not seem to be
related here in meaning.

phal 'the share of a plough'. B. *phālā* 'chip', G. *phālo* 'share',
Skr. *sphāṭayati*.

'rāṅṅi the 'queen' honey-bee.

ras'walo 'kitchen'. Mewārī rəsoṛa 'kitchen', H.P.G. *rasōi*.

raur 'small hail'. Perhaps related to N.P.L.H. *rorā* 'pebble'.

reṅz 'rainbow'. Probably related to Skr. *rañj-* 'to please', *raṅga-*
'colour'.

rîr 'backbone'.

ritt 'season', H. *rut*, Skr. *ṛtu-*.

'ruhuṅu 'to implant rice'. Perhaps related to Skr. *ruh-* 'to grow'.

'rullo 'good', Bhad. 'roṛo 'good'. Other connections unknown.

'ruppeḷo 'silver'. N. *rupaulo* 'silvery', P. 'ruppa.

'sannṅu 'to knead flour'. Perhaps related to Skr. *sanna-*, from *sad-*
'to oppress'.

san'taṅu 'to vex'. H. *satānā*, Skr. *saṃtāpayati*.

sarg 'sky', N. *sarga* 'heaven'.

'selo 'wet', H. *silā* 'wet', P. *silā* 'dampness', N. *selāunu* 'to
become cool'.

sr'ha 'furrow', N. Ku. *siyo*, Skr. *sītā*.

'sikkōli 'a very minute pebble, resembling a grain of sand', Skr.
sikatā.

sillo 'ear of corn', K. *hyolu* 'ear of corn' (?), H. *silā* 'gleaning', N.
silo 'gleanings'.

si 'the second furrow in a cultivated field'. Cf. sr'ha above.

sudəl 'damp', pash. *sedāl* 'cold', K. *šēhol*.

sir 'sinew', Skr. *sirā*.

'summo 'a boring instrument used by the blacksmith', N. *sumbā*
'steel punch', H. *sumbā* 'iron hammer'.

suṅ'krēṅu 'to contract', H. *sukarṇā*, N. *sikro* 'weak'.

'ṣakkōri } 'female calf, well-developed'.
'ṣakkōro } 'male calf, well-developed'. Cf. Skr. *śakvarī*, being a word
for the cow occurring in the Atharvaveda and mentioned
in the Nighaṅṭu (vide the St. Petersburg Lexicon, sub-
voce *śakvarī*).

'ṣaro 'a spotted animal', Skr. *śāra-* 'variegated or chequered'.

ṣello 'loose'. Etymology obscure. It is difficult to say whether,
and in what way, this word is related to Skr. *śithila-*.

ṣellu 'coldness, winter'. G. *šilū*, Rom. eur. *sil*, Skr. *śītala-*.

ṣeo 'blister', H.P. *chālā*.

ṣer 'autumn', Skr. *śarat*.

'ṣete 'bran'. Etymology obscure. H. *chan*, P. *chāṅ*.

ʃiloj 'shade of a tree, shadow of a man'. Connection with Skr. *chāyā* and other allied words uncertain.

ʃiṅṅu 'to smell', H. *sūghnā*.

taru'war 'sword'. H. *talwār* or *tarwār*.

'tarṅhnu 'to throb in agony'. It corresponds in meaning to H. *tarapnā*, but the phonetic correspondence is obscure.

'tauwo 'the frying-pan'. N.H. *tāwā*.

'taṅṅu 'to beat oneself with a chain', said of a soothsaying priest who strikes himself during ecstasy. Perhaps related to Skr. *tarj-*

thar 'cream'. N. *thar*, L. 'thiri.

'ṭaṅṭo 'portion of the stalk of the maize crop, left in the ground, after it has been reaped'. P.L. *ṭāḍa* 'dry stalks of wheat or other crops, after the ears have been cut off'.

ṭāṅṅo 'deaf'. N. *ṭaunu* 'deaf'.

ṭir 'the eye'. P. *ṭira* 'squint-eyed'.

ṭhark 'the trembling of hands and feet'. N. *tharkanu* 'to tremble', N. *tharko* 'tremor'.

ubəṭnu 'to uproot'. Skr. *udvart-*.

'uḍəṛnu } 'to fly', S. *uḍiraṅṅu*, K. *wuḍun*.

us'kaṅṅu 'to stimulate', H. *uksānā*. The same metathesis occurs in N. *uksanu*, *uksāunu*.

'ussnu 'to climb', Bhāḍ. 'gussnu 'to climb'. The initial sound, however, makes the relationship obscure.

u'sunṅṅu 'to throw out water gathered in a small pond or pit'. Perhaps related to Skr. *siñc-* 'to sprinkle'.

BHALESĪ TEXT: STORY OF THE 'NORTH WIND AND THE SUN'

'uttrəu bat te di'haṅṅo

North-of wind and sun

bat te di'haṅṅo 'isi 'galle-puṛ 'laṛte thie ki asən 'duiən-maṅṅ
wind and sun this thing-on disputing were that us two-between
'kaṅṅu 'zore-balo ahe. 'ḅtru-maṅṅ niṅṅu kə:ṭ lei mu'ʃaFir u'dhorid
who powerful is this-between warm coat wearing traveller thither
au. 'i nē duiən maṅṅ i gall khəṛei ki 'zəkhu 'aḅri
came them two between this thing was fixed that whoever first
mu'ʃaFereu kə:ṭ u'kholḅ, 'tehe jade zore-balo bholᵛ.
traveller-of coat will-make-put-off he-alone more powerful will-be
'teṣ-puṛ bat 'zore-seī bhəṅṅ 'lago, paṛ ziūziū bat 'zore-seī bhəṅṅ
this-on wind force-with blow-to began but as-as wind force-with blow to
'lago, tātā te mu'ʃaFir 'aḅpuṅṅu kə:ṭ 'zore-seī 'aḅṅi 'jani-puṛ
began so so that traveller own coat force-with his body-on
'ḅḅkkṅe 'lago. 'phiri bat mukki geu. 'phiri di'haṅṅo tezi-seī 'niṣso,
press begun to then wind gave up then sun force-with came-out

'phiri 'tēni mu'ʃaFre kə:t u'kholi 'ɕhɔɾu. ɾi'e-lēi 'bate
 then by-that traveller coat put-off-was this-on-account-of by-the-wind
 manṇu pēū ki Δsən du'hine mΔz dɪ'həɾo ʃade zore-balo ahe.
 to admit had-to that us two between sun more powerful is

